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MISSIONS AND CULTURE.

Ballantyne Press

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Presented by Prof. C. F. Fox

MODERN MISSIONS

Lexington, Ky,

Feb. 1892. CULTURE:

~~WITHDRAWN~~
Their Mutual Relations.

BY

DR. GUSTAV WARNECK,

PASTOR AT ROTHENSCHIRMBACH, NEAR EISLEBEN.

~~WITHDRAWN~~

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

THOMAS SMITH, D.D.

PROFESSOR OF EVANGELISTIC THEOLOGY, NEW COLLEGE, EDINBURGH.

New Edition.

EDINBURGH:

JAMES GEMMELL, GEORGE IV. BRIDGE.

1888.

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

THIS book has for a considerable time been out of print, and many applications have been made for copies, which could not be supplied. This edition is a reprint of the former, with only some verbal amendments.

T. S.

EDINBURGH, *1st March 1838.*

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TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION.

I PROCURED the original of this book as part of the "apparatus" for the study of a subject on which I contemplated the composition of a treatise. In the course of reading it, I formed the opinion that, in respect of extent and variety of research, and in respect of clear statement, Dr. Warneck's book is superior to any that I could expect to write; while almost in every case the conclusions which he derives from authentic facts are, in my judgment, sound and convincing. I therefore abandoned the idea of original authorship, and betook myself to the humbler task of translation. The result I now offer to the reader, with a considerable amount of comfortable feeling that I am thereby conferring on him a favour. As to the translation, I believe that it is accurate, and I have not sought to invest it with any degree of ornament. There are some peculiarities which have made my task somewhat difficult. There is, for example, the distinction which the author makes between certain things which are not distinguished in the same way by us; as *instruction, education, refinement, civilization, cultivation, culture*. I may mention that the author always speaks of "*the modern mission*" as a unity, and that this occasionally modifies his thought and expression. In the title, and generally

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throughout the book, I have adopted the usual English mode of speaking of "modern missions," which have, of course, much in common, but which do not certainly possess absolute unity. I am not aware that there is aught else connected with the translation that requires to be specially adverted to.

For reasons stated in the text, I have omitted two lists of works published by missionaries, and I do not think that the omission needs any apology. But I have to state that, in addition to this, I have reduced the number of *notes* from 415 to 48. The 367 which I have excluded are only references to authorities, which, in the great majority of cases, are German periodicals, not easily, or not at all, accessible to readers in this country. I have translated all the notes which contain more than such references.

There is one point on which I very strongly differ from Dr. Warneck; and, indeed, the statement of this difference is what I have mainly in view in the composition of this *introduction*.

The author repeatedly speaks in somewhat disparaging terms of the educational method of conducting missions in certain cases, which is associated with the name of my late friend, the beloved and revered Dr. Duff. In one passage he admits that that system has been culturally successful; but he repeatedly indicates his opinion that it has not been so evangelistically. As I was for twenty years Dr. Duff's colleague in Calcutta, and gave the main part of my strength to the working of that method, it is fitting that I should assume the rôle of its apologist now. But I do not think it necessary to enter upon a general apology. I shall content myself with an *argumentum ad hominem*, which ought, I think, to be regarded as sufficient

to neutralise the objections which Dr. Warneck makes to the system.

First of all, I would point out that neither Dr. Duff, nor any other advocate of the higher missionary education, ever represented it as in all cases and in all circumstances the best method that could be employed, or in any case the only method that ought to be adopted. All that we ever argued was that in the particular condition of matters in the great cities of India, and especially in the Presidency cities, there was an opening for evangelistic work of this particular kind, and that access could be had in this particular way to a large and influential portion of the native community, who were utterly inaccessible to any other evangelistic influences. This is a fact absolutely indisputable. If it be true that not many of this class of the people have been converted through this instrumentality—and no one regrets this more than I do—it is also true that a considerable number have been converted, while *none of that class have been converted in any other way*. It is quite possible that the method may have been tried in circumstances for which it was not suited; but for this neither Dr. Duff nor his associates can be held responsible. In one place, for example, Dr. Warneck states it as conclusive against English education that Sir Ashley Eden dissuaded its introduction into the mission-school at Ranchi. Will Dr. Warneck believe me when I say that I should have given precisely the same advice, and that I am very confident that Dr. Duff would have done the same? But it does not follow that a method which would have been wholly unsuitable to the aboriginal tribes of a remote province was unsuitable to the intelligent and cultured youth of the metropolis; nor is there any inconsistency betwixt abstaining from forcing English educa-

tion upon those who have no desire for it, and granting it to those who are determined to have it, and who *will* have it whether *we* grant it to them or not.

Secondly, so far as the principle is concerned, there is no difference between the elementary education which Dr. Warneck advocates, and the higher education which he disparages, if he does not condemn it. To teach the savage to read is not an evangelistic work, any more than to teach the non-Christian men of intelligence such science or literature as they are capable of apprehending. But all missionaries, according to the testimony of our author himself, have recourse to the former in dealing with the "nature-peoples;" what difference is there in principle in having recourse to the latter in dealing with the culture-peoples?

Thirdly, that state of matters which Dr. Duff found when he went to Calcutta half a century ago, and which exists still, was simply this: there was a large and constantly enlarging body of young men who *must* be educated, and educated mainly through the medium of English. These young men were destined to exercise the most potent influence over the destinies of India, and over its relation to Christianity. There was no question as to whether they should be educated or not, or as to whether they should be taught English or not. Both these questions were already answered affirmatively. The only question yet unanswered was whether they should be educated Christianly or unchristianly—that question, I hold, and Dr. Warneck holds—anti-Christianly. This was the question which Dr. Duff had to consider; and it was the life-long devotion to the working out of the answer which he was led to give to this question, that entitles him to occupy one of the highest places among modern missionaries, and

among the benefactors of mankind. To have infused a Christian element into the great mass of modern Indian thought; to have enlisted on the side of the Gospel a very large amount of the talent and influence which would otherwise have been ranged in determined opposition to it; these are works which have been given to few men in our time to do; and for the doing of them Dr. Duff is entitled to the most unrestricted commendation on the part of all who value the Gospel.

Fourthly, I regret as much as any one the "culture-caricatures" which Dr. Warneck so scathingly condemns. I admit that our missionary education has not been able altogether to prevent these; but it not only has not caused them, it has greatly diminished them. Grant that there may be occasionally a spice of pedantry, or a measure of self-conceit, in some of those who have been educated in our missionary institutions, and grant fully that pedantry and self-conceit are not desirable, but very undesirable, qualities. But let it not be forgotten that those in whom these qualities exist would have had them in manifold greater degree if they had been trained on the Government-education system, or would have had them, combined with gross ignorance and debasing superstition, under the vernacular or oriental system. It is not the missionary education that has originated the evil; but the whole aggregate of influences to which the more intelligent natives are subjected in such a city as Calcutta. No one has pleaded better than Dr. Warneck for the missionaries among barbarous races, on the ground that they are not responsible for the evils which they have not been able to prevent; and I ask no more than that the same plea be admitted on behalf of Dr. Duff, his coadjutors, and his successors.

Fifthly, while I freely admit that a multitude of causes have co-operated, under the guidance of divine providential wisdom, for the production of the mighty change which has taken place in India since Dr. Duff first went to it, I maintain that the higher Christian education which he introduced has, more than any other cause, given it so much as it has of a favourable direction evangelically. It was the higher missionary education that alone made female education possible; and *that* promises to do more for the evangelisation of India than any other cause or process.

Sixthly, the question, and indeed the only question, with which the Church has now to do, is simply whether the class which must, ere long, control the thought, and consequently the destinies, of India, is to be handed over to unchristians and atheists, or whether an effort is to be made, and made perseveringly and prayerfully, for the deliverance of the land from what every Christian man must regard as the greatest evil that could befall a people.

It will be much in accordance with the method of the book if I adduce relevant testimonies from two eye-witnesses, neither of them missionaries.

Sir Monier Williams, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford, writes as follows:—

“South India is not behind the North in its zeal for education. Indeed, if advance of education is to be measured by its promoting among natives of all ranks the power of speaking English with fluency, the palm will have to be given to the colleges and schools of Madras; *and here, as in other parts of India, missionary schools are, in my opinion, doing the best work.* The education they impart is openly and professedly founded on a Christian basis. They teach the Bible, without enforcing ecclesiastical dogmas on their pupils. Indeed, my second tour

has impressed me more than ever with the benefits which India derives from the active efforts of missionaries of all denominations, however apparently barren in visible results these efforts may be. Moreover, I think that the part that they have hitherto played is as nothing compared with the rôle they are destined to fill in the future of our Indian Empire. The European missionary is daily becoming a more important link between the Government and the people. He is confided in by natives of all ranks, and is often able to do what the Government, with its wise professions of neutrality, cannot effect. Missionary schools attract the children of parents of all creeds, though they openly aim at permeating their minds with a spirit hostile to those creeds. It may be very true that their Bible-teaching tends to destroy without necessarily reconstructing; but it is gradually and insensibly infusing principles incompatible with the pantheistic ideas with which the Indian mind is generally saturated. If it does not always build up the true creed in place of the false, yet it lays the foundation of a future belief in a personal God. It substitutes for the slippery sands of Pantheism a basis of living rock, which may be afterwards thankfully occupied by evangelising missionaries as a common standpoint, when the Gospel is confronted in argument with the Veda and Koran.

“My conviction is that the vast work of Christianising India will not be accomplished entirely through missionary instrumentality, but rather through the co-operation of Divine and human agencies, working in a great variety of ways. Yet I am equally convinced that it will be principally effected, and far more slowly, gradually, and insensibly than is commonly expected, through impressions made on the minds of children by a process of education like that which our missionaries are carrying out in their schools. Of all such schools visited by me in Southern India, there were two, the merits and effectiveness of which struck me very forcibly. These were those of the Free Church of Scotland at Madras, under Mr. Miller and Mr. Rae, where about 1000 pupils are under education; and the

Church missionary schools, under Bishop Sargent, at Tinnivelly, in which latter district there are about 60,000 converts to Protestant Christianity."

Elsewhere in the same volume Sir Monier says :

"With regard to the progress of Christianity in India, I will only at present record my opinion that the best work done by the missionaries is in their schools. In some important places, such as Benares, the missionary schools are more popular than those of the Government, although the Bible is read and religious instruction given in the former, and not in the latter. Education is, indeed, causing a great upheaving of old creeds and superstitions throughout India, and the ancient fortress of Hinduism is in this way being gradually undermined. The educated classes look with contempt on idolatry."

It may be objected that Sir Monier Williams, while a Christian man, is an unexceptionable witness to the cultural value of missionary education—which is not only not disputed, but is maintained by Dr. Warneck—but is not so trustworthy with respect to its evangelistic importance. Without discussing this question, I shall adduce some of the many statements of one to the value of whose testimony the same objection cannot be taken.

Mr. Henry Stanley Newman went to India a few months ago, mainly with the view of visiting the missions of his own body, the Society of Friends. He is no special advocate of educational methods, and it does not appear that educational operations are carried on to any considerable extent by his Quaker brethren. But wherever he finds such operations carried on, he bears hearty testimony to their importance. I give a few specimens :—

"Last, but not least, of the missionary enterprises we visited in Puna was the Free Church Institution, or Scotch Mission

Marathi School for the education of the upper classes of boys. Nearly 200 young men and Brahman boys here receive a good education. The school is in the old palace of the native chief, Phadke. The whole district is surrounded with traditions of Marathi warfare and conquest, and this fine old residence abounds in beautiful carving and panelling. The central courts are open to the sky, and are environed with a labyrinth of rooms where Phadke maintained his wives and suite. These are now converted to holier purposes, and form excellent classroom accommodation, where Sanskrit, algebra, and mathematics are taught by experienced masters. . . . In this princely hall Phadke held his *darbars*, and now we gathered in the name of the King of kings to a Christian *darbar*, to hear the Gospel. Phadke himself probably never had more high-caste Brahmans ranged around him than were now gathered before the Christian teacher, to hear the message of God's love to man unfolded from the Scriptures. As I watched the fine, intelligent countenances of these young men, who must soon take leading positions in native society, I rejoiced that Christian love had devised a plan for systematically giving them day by day the glad tidings of great joy.

"It is by a great variety of methods that the missionary enterprise in India can alone be accomplished; and we act unwisely if we attempt to compare one department of service with another to the detriment of either. Rather may we admire the way in which different men by different means are working in the same great conflict of light with darkness, and knowledge with error."

Mr. Newman gives an interesting account of a visit to the Free Church Institution at Madras—the same to which Sir Monier Williams refers—and then continues:—

"The affection of these students for Mr. Miller is something beautiful, yet nothing but the power of God can make them Christian converts. Though only a small proportion of them actually make an open profession of Christianity, Mr. Miller

tells me that there is an immense change going on in the feeling of the people in favour of Christianity. I inquired of Mr. Miller what proportion of the scholars were Christians. He replied that there were about 100 Christians to 900 Hindus. Who can measure the influence for good exerted upon these 900 Hindus as they daily receive systematic, scriptural instruction from Christian teachers in their respective class-rooms? Some may imagine they endure the Bible lesson for the sake of the privileges of the college. On the contrary, Mr. Miller says: 'The Bible lesson is one of the most popular lessons we have.' It happened to be the hour for Bible study when we visited the college. We entered one class-room after another with Mr. Miller quite unexpectedly. We found the young men sitting thoughtfully at their desks with their Bibles before them, the teacher sitting below at his table giving the lesson and questioning them on it. In England we may call such men *heathen*; but I never saw more reverent attention at a Bible class anywhere, or more complete evidence of sustained interest than in these classes, where nine-tenths of the scholars profess Hinduism."

Mr. Newman's account of the missionary institutions in Calcutta is briefer than we should have liked. But he gives incidentally a notice of one effect of missionary education:—

"Mr. W. R. James, of the Baptist Mission Press in Calcutta, told the meeting that hundreds of the educated babus of the city are now week after week attending open-air services in the public gardens in Beadon Square, listening to the preaching of the Gospel on the Sabbath; and that the people of Calcutta are stirred on religious topics as they have never been before."

There is another subject on which I should like to say a few words. Dr. Warneck seems to represent it as doubtful whether caste distinctions ought to be absolutely prohibited in the Christian Church. He says, truly enough,

that all missionaries agree that they must be abolished eventually, but that some advocate a certain measure of toleration with a view to ultimate abolition, while others insist upon immediate and absolute abolition. I cannot see how the former course is possible, even if it were desirable. The caste system of India admits of no degrees. A man either keeps his caste wholly, or wholly abandons it. It does not admit of modification; although, of course, the evil results of it may sometimes be kept in check to a considerable extent. But itself is an unmitigated and unmitigable evil. It originates in Hinduism; it is the grand maintaining power of Hinduism; it is utterly irreconcilable with Christianity. I think I am safe in saying that it would never have been tolerated for an hour in the native church, but for deceptions practised upon the earlier missionaries, leading them to believe that caste was only a civil distinction of ranks. No doubt *their* tolerance of it makes it very difficult to get rid of it now. But I am confident that, while there may still be a few missionaries who shrink from the struggle of its ejection from those churches in which it has unhappily been allowed to remain, these are becoming fewer and fewer, while the overwhelming majority are persuaded that it must be got rid of at whatsoever cost.

T. S.

EDINBURGH, 29th January 1882.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT is no mere form of speech when I assure the reader that I submit to the public the following study on the mutual relations between modern missions and culture, not without a certain measure of timidity, and when, more than in the case of my earlier works, I bespeak for it a mild and indulgent judgment. The subject which it treats is so comprehensive that the more thoroughly it is gone into, the more one is humbled, because he more and more vividly realises that his powers are not adequate to the magnitude of the task imposed on them. Then there exist scarcely any previous books of note which have treated the subject in question profoundly and temperately. Thus it was necessary to collect and to sift the requisite material from a very wide spread literature, belonging to the most diverse fields, and representing the most various standpoints—a laborious work, the difficulty of which, notwithstanding long-continued diligence in collecting, is all the more likely to be overlooked, as it is so difficult for a country pastor, living at a distance from the great libraries, to get possession of the suggestive sources. Lastly, the mission-literature, abundance of which I had at command, has hitherto, in a remarkable way, devoted only a somewhat step-motherly attention to the subject in hand. It has been its part, both in reports, and also in monograms of mission history—and generally quite properly—to present the purely religious side of the missionary enterprise; and the excursions which it has made, often very effectually, into other territories, are for the benefit of geography, ethnology, the science of religion, and philology, rather than of culture-history.

Since I have ventured, notwithstanding, to publish my work, I hope, in the first place, to obtain some indulgence, because I make an attempt which I did not seek. The theme which I have handled sought me ; I did not seek it. A missionary lecture was demanded of me, on some subject connected with the circumstances of the times, and contributing to their illustration. The relation of missions and culture was deemed not unsuited to this object. The lecture, which, of course, could but very sparingly treat a subject so wide and many-sided, was for me an intrinsic necessity to consider it more thoroughly, and the result of this consideration is the book in the reader's hands.

But that I publish this book, notwithstanding my perfect knowledge of its defects, has a very personal reason, which I am candid enough to acknowledge. It is this: that while I leave it unpublished, it makes demands on my time and attention, and until it is disposed of, I cannot devote myself to my other task: the continuation of my "Mission-Hours." It was not originally my intention to take any other literary work in hand before the completion of the "Mission-Hours." But there is a peculiarity about plan-making. One is quite unawares drawn from the straight road into side-ways of which he has never thought, and he has not in his power to say, I will not walk therein. He must, else his peace is gone.

So I was obliged to bring the present work to a conclusion. That it is, in a certain sense, a book for the time, which in the mirror of the mission gives instructive answers to the thoughtful upon important home-questions, was a further reason for not delaying its publication. Probably there is many "a word spoken in season," which, although it might be better spoken a couple of years later, would not produce such conviction as it does now, though the present expression of it is defective.

In diligence and labour, at least, I have not been in fault, as the references referred to in the notes will make manifest to the reader.* So far as it was possible for me, I have always gone

* The English reader, however, must take it on trust, as, for reasons stated in my Introduction, I have suppressed almost all these notes.—*Trans.*

back to the original sources—often a toilsome way, but which, in more respects than one, has proved very instructive to me, since it has not only shown me that even quotations have their casualties, but also that much wisdom consists in decking with borrowed feathers, and that very often the acknowledgment is withheld from the bird on which the feathers grew.

Some important sources became accessible to me, unfortunately, only while the printing of the book was in progress, so that I could use them only, so to speak, in patchwork fashion during the correction. So it was with the last articles of Gerland's important treatise on "The Future of the Indians," with Hubbe-Schleiden's excellent book "Ethiopia," and with Lady Barker's "Year's House-Keeping in South Africa," a very instructive book, although so very humorous; and the "Report" of the German Government on the treaty of peace with the Samoa Island. On this account there are many acknowledgments of authorities in the text, while many have been relegated to the notes, for which I have to apologise.

That I have introduced abundant quotations, especially from non-missionary sources, will not, I hope, be charged as a fault upon the book. I regarded it as my vocation to argue by means of facts, and to allow these facts to speak in the words of those from whom I took them. A mere reference to the authorities would have been of little use to most readers, because these authorities are only in the smallest measure accessible to them. To those who have the inclination to thoroughly study particular parts of the book, I hope that I have rendered a welcome service by the multitude of references.

I should regard it as a specially desirable result of my work if missionaries were incited by it to give somewhat more space even in their reports than has been generally done heretofore to their direct and indirect cultural works and their results. It would contribute essentially to the better understanding, and perhaps also to the higher estimation, of the mission, if these influences of missionary operations were brought more prominently forward in the mission reports, which have a transforming operation upon the daily life both of converts and of

heathen. We at home—and not the directors only—might thus have a distinct apprehension of the ways in which the mission-history of the present day is a culture-history.

From the reproach of a blind enthusiasm for culture I shall be more than protected by the second section of my book, even if the Introduction should not afford me this defence. Assuredly there is little protection against misunderstanding; none against misrepresentation. Little as it comes into my thought to change the work of the spread of the Gospel from the salvation of the sinner through Jesus Christ, the Son and the Lamb of God, into a mere culture-mission, just as little would I give countenance to the error that “godliness” has ceased to be “profitable for all things,” and to have “the promise of the life that now is and of that which is to come.”

THE AUTHOR.

ROTHENSCHIRMBACH,

8th September 1879.

CONTENTS.

I. STATE OF THE QUESTION.

PAGE

Similarity between fashions and cant-words—"Culture" as a cant-word—The "Culture War"—Christianity the chief among the culture-forces of the world—Hence the opposition to Christianity as an enemy to culture a contradiction—The Biblical faith not a conquered position—Proof from the facts of missions—What is culture?—Distinction between culture and civilization—The modern conception of culture without morality—The religion of the present (Secularism) not the best nurse of culture—Godliness has the promise of the present and the future life—No morality without religion—As is religion so is morality; and as is the *cultus* so is the *culture*. 12

No appeal for pardon for missions on account of their cultural importance—The object of Christianity and of missions—Culture an additional gift—How far the proof of the cultural importance of missions forms an apology for them—The mutual relations between missions and culture—A complicated question—The value of proof-materials—Partizanship for and against—Unreliableness of hostile report—Division by ten—Hatred of Christianity—The eye influenced by the heart—Scientific spectacles—Blindness—Dissatisfaction with the disappearance of the *pura naturalia*—Nudities—Trustworthiness of the missionary authorities—Criticism and confirmation of them 30

NOTES TO I. 353

II. RELATION OF MISSIONS TO CULTURE.

	PAGE
The three principal mission-periods in their various relations to culture —The cultural superiority of the present day, especially of modern missions—Concurrence of manifold culture-factors—Character- istic peculiarity of the mission as a culture-factor—Distinction of the cultural influence of missions in the so-called “nature-peoples” and “culture-peoples”	32
The <i>material</i> department of culture—Clothing—Missions as a pioneer of commerce—Hostility of traders to missions, and explanation of the fact—Manufacturing activity—Elements of architecture— Encouragement of manual labour—Industrial work-shops, Love- dale—The civilization of the natives by missions cheaper than war—The Bible and the hatchet—Industrial missions—By their fruits ye shall know them—Agriculture—A royal witness—The judgment of a jurist and merchant—A visit to Edendale—Train- ing to labour—Contradictory charges—The charge of unwisely- exercised benevolence, and its refutation—The law of gradual development—Sierra Leone—Liberia—The West Indies and the slave states of North America as instances against the cultural power of missions—Criticism of these instances—The professed representatives of material interests not civilizers of the “nature- peoples”—The civilizing influence of modern missions on the so- called “culture-peoples”—Yamamoto, China, Japan, India	III
The <i>intellectual</i> department of culture—The mission the greatest re- finement society in the world—The enriching of languages—The advancement of unwritten languages into written—Bible transla- tion and its influence on the intellectual life of the people— Foundation of a new literary epoch—Literary productions of missionaries—Importance of the primer—Missionary school-work both among culture and nature-peoples—Its great extent—The training of native teachers and preachers, and its importance for the culture-life of the natives	149
The <i>moral</i> department of culture—Connection between new senti- ments and new morals—The gospel of Christ the <i>Magna Charta</i> of humanity—“To the poor the gospel is preached”—The saving of human life—The <i>Gartenlaube</i> and Herr von Hellwald—Sup-	

pression of human sacrifice, cannibalism, child-murder, ceaseless war—Humanity in warlike operations—Care of health—Action of the mission with regard to the suppression of the slave-trade and of slavery—Social and moral elevation of the female sex—Service of missionaries' wives—Moral renovation of conjugal and domestic life—Cessation of the sale of wives and of infant-marriage—Caste—Transformation of the civil and political life—A glance at the Sandwich Islands, Polynesia and Madagascar—The missionary and politics—The new moral virtues of charity and beneficence—Care of the poor, the sick, orphans—Influence even on the heathen—Honesty, truthfulness, industry, temperance— <i>Then and now</i>	211
---	-----

NOTES TO II.	358
----------------------	-----

III. RELATION OF CULTURE TO MISSIONS.

The two chief sources of the modern mission-life: the religious awakening and geographical discoveries—Modern means of communication—Commercial relations and colonies—An erroneous judgment of Wolfgang Menzel—Direct and indirect advantages to missions through culture—Training to and through labour—Whether civilizing must precede christianising—Facts speak unfavourably for this theory—Difference between this theory and the fact that civilization does pioneer-service for the mission . 237

The other side of the medal—The two chief dangers of the modern civilization for the non-Christian peoples—The selfishness of most of the representatives of civilization, and our absolute cultural superiority—Proofs of the former fact—Universal opinion—Special proofs from Van Diemen's Land, New Zealand, Tahiti, New Hebrides—Labour-traffic in the South Sea—John Williams and Bishop Patteson victims to these iniquities—Other evil consequences for the mission—The spread of Islam in the Dutch colonies—The neutrality-policy in matters of religion of the Indo-British government—The opium traffic—The treatment of the Chinese in America—Civilization and the Indians—The negroes in the United States and the West Indies—Civilization in its

	PAGE
relation to the natives of South Africa—Brandy—Missions an atonement for the corruptions introduced among the unchristian peoples	306
Our cultural superiority primarily an advantage secured to the modern mission by Divine Providence—The disadvantages of this cultural superiority—Great gulf between the missionary and the objects of his labour—Danger of Europeanising, denationalising, and culture-caricaturing of native agents and Christians—Culture caricatures everywhere, among barbarous and among half-civilized peoples—The introduction of European concepts of law—The desire for equality—The tragic side of culture caricatures—A fatal leap—The difference between a culture wrought out and one merely imported—By the latter children are all at once made into grown men—Danger of unrooting and dependence—Precocity—Early ripening—The dying-out of the nature-peoples in its relation to the civilizing and the christianising of them—Extenuating circumstances—Real defects—Multiplicity of languages—A parallel between the controversies in the apostolic and the modern missions—Men with the originality and the large-heartedness of a Paul the chief need of the missions of the present day—No blind zeal for culture—A beautiful dream—VIRIBUS UNITIS	352
NOTES TO III.	368

MISSIONS AND CULTURE.

I.

STATE OF THE QUESTION.

THERE is a remarkable relation between party cries and fashions. It is not only that both change—and assuredly at present they change quickly; not only that over their origin there often broods a mysterious darkness; they are also powers, yea, mighty powers, which wield a tyrannous sceptre, to which the masses blindly submit. As people comply with the fashions, so do they employ the party cries of the times. With millions it is as it was once with the Ephesians when aroused by the goldsmith, Demetrius, who for two hours shrieked, GREAT IS DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS, albeit the more part knew not wherefore they had come together (Acts xix. 32). But perhaps it is just on that account that these cries are so potent weapons in the great contest between belief and unbelief, which, according to the well-known saying of Goethe, constitutes the most special and the deepest theme of the history of the world and of mankind.

Among the watchwords of the present, CULTURE for

the moment plays a leading part—certainly, as it appears, not altogether with its former youthful enthusiasm. As if they had drunk an intoxicating cup, the so-called culture-strife has maddened our contemporaries, after “free” Protestantism had for a long time played a sort of prelude, by the inauguration of the phrase—“a reconciliation of Christianity with present-day culture.” When there is a contest, or when reconciliation is sought, there must naturally be an enemy. Who is that enemy? Essentially none else than the old, historical, biblical Christianity, however it may be attempted to mask this enemy by means of rhetorical subtleties, which are accustomed in these days to play a kaleidoscopic game with historical matters. The culture-strife! The word, not in what may be called its official sense, but taken as a battle-cry of the day, may be explained as intimating a struggle for culture in opposition to Christianity. Its tendency is to discredit biblical Christianity in public estimation, as a contrast to culture, or as a hindrance of culture.

There are truths which one is almost afraid of damaging when he propounds them. Such a truth is the fact that among the culture-forces of the world Christianity is the most powerful. We do not say that Christianity is the only culture-force. In the development of human culture there are other very influential factors, neutral with respect to Christianity, or even opposed to it. Were it not so, there never could have been any culture, either among heathen peoples or in times of general defection from Christianity. But Christianity is the most intrinsic, the most fundamental, the most inspiring of culture-

factors. When even on the first page of the Bible God gives to the man made in His own image the command—shall we say?—or the promise, “Subdue the earth, and have dominion over it” (Gen. i. 28), what is this but the highest culture-task? And when Paul, the great apostle of the Gentiles, in a profound exposition of the well-known mission-command, “Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature”—when he speaks of an “earnest expectation of the creature towards the manifestation of the children of God,” and of its deliverance “from the bondage of the transient state to the glorious liberty of the children of God” (Rom. viii. 21), does he not set up a culture-ideal, which is sought for in vain outside of Christianity? We shall not appeal to the verdict of a great historian—a Macaulay—who declares, “Whoever does anything to depreciate Christianity, is guilty of high treason against the civilization of mankind.” Even fanatics for Materialism, like Frederick von Hellwald, are obliged to acknowledge it as an incontrovertible fact that “Modern culture undeniably rests upon the view of the world derived from Christianity.” Only now this culture acts as did the prodigal son in the parable; when it has come to man’s estate it has turned its back, with its portion of its father’s goods, upon its father’s house, and in a strange land has forgotten its origin. But when one confesses that the modern culture undeniably rests upon Christianity, and yet takes the field against it as an enemy of culture, he not only sets himself in opposition to himself, but saws away the branch on which he sits. The modern view of the world strives of course to weaken this con-

clusion by the assertion, that Christianity, like all else in this transitory world, has its time, and hence there appertains to it only a temporary importance in the evolution of human culture. Grant that in former times it wrought in the laying of the foundation of culture, it has now through the advance of scientific knowledge become an overborne stand-point; a new view of the world has come in its place, and with the modern culture which is under the influence of this view, the old Christianity stands in irreconcilable opposition.

In the first place, this assertion—which, like so many more of the axioms of the modern-world views, is not supported by any scientific proof, but is a simple enunciation of belief, or rather of unbelief—contains either a logical or a psychological contradiction. Since the Christian-world view is undeniably at the foundation of the modern culture, then, when this culture shall be developed, it must either hold fast by this world-view, since every organism necessarily falls when it is separated from its fountain of life; or else we must make a clean sweep of all the culture that has come down to us; for when the root is declared to be dead, of necessity the branches and twigs which it bore must be dead also. But that the sweeping away of the culture which has hitherto grown on the soil of Christianity, as is attempted by the Nihilists, would be a gain for culture, will scarcely be asserted by the most enthusiastic advocate of the modern-world view. We shall, however, state another objection to the above assertion. So far is Christianity from being an overborne stand-point, that it is rather proving itself now to be an overbearing one.

In confirmation of this truth we appeal in this place only to the *Mission*. In his mission-speech delivered in Westminster Abbey, on the 3rd December 1873, Max Müller, the famous investigator of languages and religions, elaborates the thought that the missionary religions are alive, the non-missionary are dead.² Now, it is an undeniable fact that since about the beginning of this century the evangelical church has, in constantly increasing progression, offered thousands of evangelists to the heathen nations of the world. At this moment there are over 2300 male ordained missionaries—and for the carrying on of the mission work in progress, many millions of marks yearly—now about 24 millions.* The faith which has set this missionary activity a-work is manifestly no overborne stand-point. Now, an extensive inquiry shows that the introduction of Christianity effected by this missionary activity brings really a new leaven of culture among communities hitherto heathen, and not only among the “nature-peoples,” but also among the comparatively refined nations; and so, it appears to us, is the fuller proof, so much the more convincingly produced, that the gospel of Christ is still a culture-force of the first rank; as, on the other hand, the fact is undeniably manifested that the culture of the present day, divorced as it is from Christianity, not only produces no cultivating effect, but that it produces a positively pernicious effect, upon the heathen peoples.

But before we enter upon this inquiry, the presently dominant Babylonian confusion of things and words imposes on us the necessity of premising some expla-

* A mark may be counted as about equivalent to a shilling.—*Trans.*

nation of the term *Culture*.³ Culture is in itself manifestly an entirely neutral conception. All depends upon what is the object of the education which we designate by the foreign word *culture*. According to our apprehension, this object is constituted of all the gifts and powers bestowed on man, by the cultivation and application of which he makes nature—or, as the Scripture says, the earth—subject to him, turns its good things to account for his service, and thereby furthers his well-being in this world, as well as his intellectual and moral improvement. Accordingly, we distinguish a threefold domain of culture—the material, the intellectual, and the moral; but not so that each forms an isolated field for itself, but that all three constitute an organism, in which one member always serves the others, and contributes to the nurture and development of the others. The end of all culture is nothing else than to make the life of man on this earth truly worthy of man and happy; and so material and intellectual and moral good must be equally the object of the education. Only when this is so is there a harmonious, a deep-rooted, a really felicitous and ennobling culture.

Consciously or unconsciously the modern view of the world takes a far narrower conception of culture, limiting it to mere civilization. It concerns itself essentially only with the care of the material and intellectual good. With quite unmistakable satisfaction Von Hellwald, in his *History of Culture*, repeatedly intimates that “times of high culture-flourish are always times of deep immorality.” Yea, he directly makes the assertion that “the so-called corruption of morals stands in direct proportion

to the increase of civilization, and is positively no retrogression, but a quite natural phase of development," and will have "advancement wholly divested of the idea of an ethical amelioration." Thus we have here in the plainest terms a culture without any moral foundation; and quite naturally, for, as the same Herr von Hellwald is never weary of repeating, "*right, morality, moral*, is a mere sound," the conception of good and evil is variable and purely subjective; "in history there is only a law of nature, which is completely apart from any ethic or morality;" "all development of culture is only a struggle for existence, in which the stronger is always victorious, in which the end sanctifies the means, and from which love is excluded." It follows absolutely as a consequence that a care of moral good can be no more mentioned as an integral factor of culture-development.

We shall not stop to point out the further consequents of this conception of culture apart from morality. Herr von Hellwald is himself obliged to confess that the "so-called" corruption of morals has "often enough hastened the downfall of nations." Thus we have a culture which conducts to ruin! We cannot think of denying that often enough in times of high outward culture the deepest corruption of morals has actually obtained. But history has taught us that we were then always standing before whitened sepulchres, the stink of whose corruption, in the midst of all the odours of culture, ere long poisoned the atmosphere. Despite all the jeers and all the denials of the representatives of the modern view of the world, there is a moral world-ordinance, whose ethic laws fulfil themselves with the same necessity as do the laws of

nature. "He who soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption" (Gal. vi. 8). The world's history in this respect accomplishes a world's doom.

The so-called modern view of the world, which designates itself as "the religion of this world" in opposition to the historical Christianity, puts forth, not without a certain appearance of right, the assertion that it is better adapted than a "religion of the next world" to promote culture—that is, external civilization. But how remarkable! When the social democrats enunciate the same proposition in their own way, and explain it as meaning, "The heaven is taken from us, let us claim the earth," then the most advanced representatives of this view of the world hasten most energetically to repudiate the mental parentage of these social-democratic culture-ideas. Why do they deny the consequences of their own doctrine? It must not be an alluring evolution of culture, when the masses robbed of heaven claim the earth. Or is it meant that culture leads not the plebeian masses, but the aristocracy of gold and of science, to possess themselves of the earth by the renunciation of heaven? Now, irrespective of the fact that with inexorable consistency the plebeians will follow in their way the example which they see the aristocrats set them, and that "the struggle for existence," which, according to the dogma of this view of the world, the two parties must fight out with one another, and in which the victory awaits the stronger, will of necessity lead to barbarism instead of an advance of culture—apart from this, there is nothing new under the sun. There has been such a thing as that the aristocratic strata of human society,

after they have cast away all religion of the other world, have basked on a lofty height of material and mental civilization; but the splendidly constructed house which they inhabited has tottered and fallen. Greece and Rome have fallen to the ground.

It may be noted as a godly irony, that the men who renounce heaven cannot continuously possess the earth. It sounds like a paradox, but it is a piece of that godly wisdom which the apostle of the Gentiles so boldly calls foolishness, that the religion of the other world is the best and surest means of cultivating the present world. The Saviour of the world said, "Seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all such things shall be added to you;" and the apostle's commentary on the Lord's word is, "Godliness is profitable for all things, and has the promise of this life and of that which is to come" (1 Tim. iv. 8).

Never and nowhere is there a culture enduring, truly ennobling and blessing men, without care of moral good. We may invent railroads and telegraphs and telephones, we may adopt the most rational husbandry, and may by the help of the most ingenious machinery improve industry to the uttermost; we may minister to the most exquisite luxury and the most refined taste; we may manufacture rifled cannon and torpedoes; we may make marvellous discoveries by chemical analyses and microscopes; we may calculate the orbits of the stars; and even in the field of philosophy, poetry, and art, we may effect important results; we can, now that the development of culture is in progress, reach a high pitch of material and intellectual civilization, without the moral

powers being at all employed in originating or promoting it. But this one-sided and unharmonious culture is a light, which shines indeed, but gives neither warmth nor life. The well-known assertion of the Duke of Wellington, that such culture, divested of faith and morality, makes clever devils, is perhaps somewhat too strong; but so far it is undoubtedly true, and is acknowledged with a certain cynicism even by the materialists, that a purely material and intellectual culture can exert no influence to ennoble and bless mankind. But if this be so, what is a war on behalf of this culture against Christianity but a war for civilized barbarism? The training of the moral is at once the foundation and the crown of culture.

But strictly there is no fostering of morality without the fostering of religion. The fact that there are people who religiously believe and do not lead earnest moral lives, and people who religiously are unbelievers, and who are distinguished by such lives, proves nothing against the truth of this proposition. For where there is religion without morality, the religion is only form and pretence; and where there is morality without religion, there is either a concealed faith, an altar to the unknown God (Acts xvii. 23), or the morality is only self-imposed, subjective. Certainly a man's life may be to some extent regulated morally by the bare idea of humanity without the idea of God, by the idea of the dignity of man, according to which it may be determined, without respect to the divine will, what shall be good and what evil. Only it is manifest that in this way only a purely subjective morality can take its rise, and that every age,

every nation, yea, every individual, is entitled to claim the right for himself to determine, according to his own judgment, what shall be honourable and moral. The moral conceptions of good and evil formed in this way must of necessity be fluctuating, and the inevitable consequence of the mutability of these conceptions is ultimately the view that morality is only a vain sound. "A morality without religion is in itself an untrue self-dependence, a freedom destitute of a deeper foundation, and resting on an essential contradiction."⁴ In truth, that only can be an objective morality which is a binding rule independent of my own choice, which stands above me, while the result of my own legislation does not constitute it. But such an objective rule standing above me, universally obligatory, is only possible when a living God is lawgiver and judge: in other words, morality exists only inside of religion.

And as is the religion, such is the morality. The idea of an inter-religious—or, as the favourite phrase of the day is, an inter-confessional—morality is as much an illusion as is an irreligious morality. Even a superficial acquaintance with the science of religion and ethnology teaches us that there is one morality in Parseeism, another in Confucianism, another in Brahmanism, another in Buddhism, another in Fetichism, another in Islam, and another in Christianity; yea, that differences bearing upon the moral domain are found even inside of Romanist as well as Protestant Christianity. The most perfect religion has also the most perfect morality. Christianity, as the religion of truth, includes therefore, as even its chief enemies must admit, the most perfect, the most

ideal, moral teaching. Thus it is self-evident that morality must find its best fostering under the dominion of Christianity; and, since without the fostering of morality material and intellectual culture leads ultimately to ruin, that culture thrives best under the dominion of Christianity.

Notably the words *Cultus* and *Culture* have not an accidental resemblance. As etymologically they are derived from one root, so also the departments of life which they designate stand in an organic combination. As is the *cultus*, so is the *culture*.⁵ So it was among the cultured nations of antiquity, the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Persians. Thus the Greek culture stood in undeniable fundamental connection with the religious cultus, and became its reflection. So is it till this day with the Chinese, who—to adduce a right strong example—are prevented by their faith or superstition from constructing railways, although in other respects Confucianism favours material culture to the uttermost. So it is among the so-called nature-peoples, whose worship is not more elevated than their culture. So it is in Islam, whose religious system obstructs the reforms through whose introduction diplomacy would fain prolong the existence of the Turkish empire. So the cultus of genius has its own peculiar culture. Should it come to this, that the doctrine of the bestial descent of man shall lead to ape-cultus, of which the gorilla-flirtation which was lately going on in the metropolis of intelligence already betrayed the footsteps; then doubtless also a congenial ape-culture will be introduced! On the other hand, in proportion as the worship of God in spirit

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and in truth—which Christianity inculcates as the religion of truth—is practically realised, in that proportion also true culture is founded and perfected. It is truly a fact of demonstrative power for every one who will look at it, that the Christian nations have become the bearers of culture. If this culture in its further development has often become, alas! not homogeneous with the Christian cultus-ideal, the fault lies not on it, but on backsliding from it, or on its imperfect realisation. It is as unintelligent as it is unfair to lay the blame on Christianity that within its domains all evils are not removed, and paradisaic conditions are not introduced. Christianity does not work, and in accordance with its nature, cannot work, with external necessity of nature. It is spiritual seed, which must fall upon a good soil, if it is to bring forth good fruit. But the good soil is the hearts of men, and these hearts are—despite all the protests of modern philosophy and natural science—endowed with free will. Now, this will refuses to give admittance to Christian truth, or rather it tramples that truth under foot, and does what is in direct opposition to it, yet unreasonably tries to make Christianity responsible for the consequences. The men who obey the natural passions of their evil hearts, instead of the precepts of the gospel, who wilfully and constantly sow tares among the wheat, oppose the powers of life and culture which belong to Christianity. In proportion as men really give admittance to the gospel of Christ, they maintain an honourable existence, are ennobled, enjoy happiness and contentment, and attain, so far as the order of nature in the present world admits of the total removal of evil, to a condition of felicity.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten, that even when the gospel is accepted, the treasure is borne in "earthen vessels," and that the leavening process, still but imperfect, is accomplished amid many troubles.

Among the hostile party there are some—in Germany still very few⁶—not disinclined to tolerate Christianity on account of its undeniable bearing on culture, and even to let the mission have its way among uncivilized peoples. Respecting this utilitarian theory, we must guard against a misunderstanding—namely, lest there should be any appearance of our being solicitous about such remarkably magnanimous tolerance, candour as well as honour demands that we should at the outset declare most distinctly that we do not handle our theme with the view of begging pardon for Christianity, or specially for the diffusion of it among unchristian peoples. Christianity claims recognition for its own sake. The Son of God did not come into the world primarily to introduce culture into it, but "to seek and to save that which is lost" (Luke xix. 10), that through faith in Him sinners might receive forgiveness of sins and holiness of life. Accordingly, we carry on missions, not primarily with a view to the introduction of culture, but with the view of inviting the heathen to the Saviour of sinners, who saves their souls and renews their hearts. As the gospel of Christ, at its entrance into this world, had to be first brought primarily to those peoples who in a certain sense had enough, and more than enough, of culture already, so now we carry on missions, not only among the uncivilized, but also among the cultured peoples. And in this we as little do a superfluous work

as the apostles did a superfluous work when they went with the message of the gospel to the Greeks and Romans. Man lives not by culture alone; his heart is formed for God, and cannot rest in culture. What would it profit a man if he should gain the whole world, and had not a remedy for his soul's hurt? It is to hold out to the hungry man a stone instead of bread, when culture is offered instead of religion. Man is a citizen of two worlds, and no civilization makes up for the kingdom of God and His righteousness. But the great Saviour of the world, who gives to sinners eternal life, brightens for them also the transitory life on earth. He who gives the greater can easily give the less. When on one occasion the scribes doubted whether Jesus had power on earth to forgive sins, thus spake He to a paralytic: "Stand up: take up thy bed and go to thy house" (Matt. ix. 6). "Works of this sort were not precisely His field and His province," the Wandsbeck preacher says somewhere: "He was set over the invisible as a helper and healer of souls; and all the visible miracles were only by-works, which He performed in order to open men's eyes to what they saw not, by means of what they saw." But although His kingdom was not of this world, He yet proved that He was Lord and Master of visible nature, which always and on every occasion lovingly helped and served Him. Just so it is with the mission. Its first and chief end is to save the immortal souls of men for the kingdom of heaven, by the proclamation of eternal redemption which has been accomplished by Christ Jesus. But the mission, in making heathens Christians, makes them also for the

first time properly men; and in planting the kingdom of heaven among them, it plants also true culture. Culture is not the chief end of the mission, but it is its necessary result, a gift to boot, a by-work, an earth blessing falling as a crumb from the rich table of the gospel, a fulfilment of the promise that godliness is profitable for all things, and that the man who is renewed into the image of God is best equipped for the subduing of the earth.

But an apologetic view presents itself to us. We would seek to teach men to judge of the tree by the fruits, and to convince the opposers of Christianity and of the mission that the gospel of Christ and culture hang together as cause and effect, as root and plant. While we lead the proof that he who conducts a Christian mission plants culture also, we may also prove conversely that he who is a friend of culture must also be a friend of Christian missions.

But our theme speaks of the *mutual* relations between missions and culture. People are accustomed almost always to look on the one side, *How far do missions promote culture?* That is confessedly a very important side of the question—so important that no one can write a history of culture without at the same time entering upon the history of missions. But the medal has also a reverse. Culture in its turn enters into relation with missions, and it is not possible to write a history of missions without entering upon the domain of the history of culture. It is manifest that as the mission exerts an influence upon culture, so also does culture upon the mission; and it will be the task of the second part of our theme to inquire whether, and to what extent, this

influence is helpful or hurtful. We shall see, in the course of this inquiry, that it brings us in contact with a difficult question, and with very complicated relations. It is not enough for its solution that we point out by facts what attitude the representatives of the Christian culture of the West, living among heathen nations, or even ruling over them, assume towards the mission, whether they by word and deed recommend or disparage the gospel. The question is rather about culture *as such*, not only about its personal representatives; and specially about culture in the narrower modern sense of the term, so far as it is by preference occupied with the care of material and intellectual good. However much on the one hand the mission has to thank this culture because it has often been its pioneer, there is on the other side the great strife to which it everywhere challenges the mission. The investigation of these relations will show that this strife is as many-sided as it is painful and partly hopeless. The mission has not only to contend with rude unculture, but as much with over-culture, destitute of Christian moral foundations and motives, and the immediate transference of our culture-acquisitions to strange peoples and relations, which the mission must resent, so that in the true sense of the word we have to speak of a manifold culture-war on the part of the Christian mission.

Before we enter upon the first main division of our inquiry, a preliminary remark must be permitted with reference to the materials of proof which we are to employ. We have been very earnestly careful to bring together our materials from the most diverse

quarters, and have by no means taken partial counsel from the accounts of missionaries. But it were certainly unreasonable that we should appeal only to witnesses who are quite unconnected with the mission, or are indeed hostile to it. As little as one could, *e.g.*, write a history of the German-French war, if he should depend only on French sources, could one sketch an accurate picture of the results and struggles of the mission if he had recourse only to professedly neutral or even hostile authorities. We freely admit that the missionaries write for home, and hence that their accounts, notwithstanding all efforts after strict impartiality, may not always be perfectly objective. But we must at the least bring the same charge against the hostile witnesses. If the former are *a priori* tuned *for*, the latter are *against*, missions; and every one knows that in matters with which the inclination of the heart has to do, an absolute objectivity is generally impossible.⁷ There is much jugglery carried on with so-called freedom from prejudice. Unbelief and hatred are the worst prejudice. Whoever is from the outset unfavourable to Christianity, cannot give an unprejudiced view and judgment of the mission. While, therefore, we make use of the mission-records with a certain criticism, the same criticism has a moral duty to perform upon those accounts which are derived from the hostile camp. Thirty years ago the distinguished geographer Meinicke, in his book, which is still well worth reading—*The People of the South Sea and Christianity*—in the special chapter, *The Missionaries and their Opponents*, in which he weighs the *pro* and *contra* with great sobriety, characterised some of the

sources from which unfavourable judgments of missions are derived :

“ We are thus brought to the question ”—so he says, p. 252—3—“ what amount of trustworthiness we are to expect from the colonists? Notwithstanding many differences in respect of intelligence, they consist generally of two classes—merchants, and sailors with mechanics. The latter class are generally regarded as the off-scourings of the European and American marine : whom fear of punishment, laziness, or desire of a life of sensuality, has brought here, where, as Europeans, they take a higher rank, and are subjected to no restraint. . . . The other class consists of men who have settled in the ports for the sake of trade, and belong to the educated classes. But they are almost all of worldly tendencies, having come only to make money, and—what is an important fact—unmarried. That the views and wishes of the great majority of these are little in unison with those of the missionaries, is easily understood. There has thus constantly existed a deeply-rooted and embittered hostility between the two parties ; and there are two points especially which have generally wrought prejudicially in the matter—the intercourse of the colonists with native women (for even the more refined Europeans live in those islands without any feeling of the shame and decency which in more civilised lands regulate life, at least externally), and the traffic in brandy, in which a great proportion of the merchants take part. The action of the missionaries, who have constantly used all their influence to suppress these two evils, must naturally have excited bitter hatred against them on the part of

the other Europeans. . . . Consequently, it cannot be denied that the fountains, from which flow the charges that are brought against the missionaries, are very muddy; that the men from whom these malevolent accounts proceed are deficient in intelligence and Christian sentiment, and still more in candour and impartiality."

These relations have not essentially changed since then, as the latest describer of a *Trip across the Pacific Ocean*, Max Buchner, expressly confirms: yea, they have in some respects become worse, as we shall have to show further on. Avarice and sensuality exert their corrupting influence over the colonists and merchants who are estranged from Christianity, and it is evident that the accusations which they bring against the mission originate in animosity, and therefore deserve little credit on the part of sober men; as indeed Buchner himself, who has just been mentioned, one of the most decided enemies of the mission, declares that he always begins by dividing their assertions by ten! Meantime there is a point of view to which the assertions of such witnesses are welcome, and which, therefore, willingly receives them. And, alas! this point of view is not without representatives even among men of science. When, *e.g.*, Dr. Brehm, the well-known zoologist, in a popular lecture on the Ostiaks, openly expresses a wish "that they might long remain heathen, lest their good qualities should be lost;"⁸ or when the editor of the *Ausland* carries shamelessness so far as to place Christianity on the same level with syphilis,⁹ surely no further proof is needed to show that men who so inveterately hate Christianity are absolutely

unfit to be received as witnesses in matters connected with the mission.

No more are the accounts of travellers to be regarded, without more to do, as trustworthy sources. Apart from the fact that these gentlemen, through ignorance of the native languages, generally receive their judgments from a second or a third unclean hand, and that they stay too short a time in the places which they visit to institute thorough investigation, they are for the most part unfit to give accounts of missions even as respects their culture-results. As a rule they have aimed at quite different things, geographical, zoological, botanical, anthropological, and such like questions; and in these things they see something; but it is notorious that one cannot see things for which he has no eyes.¹⁰ "Provided attention is paid to it"—so Luther excellently translates Rom. i. 20, "the being of the invisible God is seen in His works." But millions pay no attention to it, and, therefore, see nothing. It is astonishing and almost incredible, how differently, not merely uneducated people, but scientifically educated people, have seen the same objects, according as the eye was with which they regarded it. When Rousseau's ideas of the felicity of the state of nature were still running in their heads, travellers saw cannibals as the true innocent children of nature, whose life they could not sufficiently praise as the pure nobility of paradise! But when the reaction against this extravagance set in, and "science" afterwards set about seeking for "the missing link" between man and ape, then we were constantly told of savages, regarding whom it was doubtful whether they ranked higher than beasts.

"Science," like other mortals, has its spectacles, through which it looks. Does one wish to see that the uncivilized nations are incapable of culture, then he of course sees no culture-results, even when he stumbles over them. In his extremely interesting "Recollections of an Indian Missionary," our countryman, Leupolt, relates a very amusing incident, which strikingly shows how blind certain people are to the most patent facts of missions. "It happened," says our author, "some thirty-five years ago, that a regiment coming from Benares passed through Cawnpore. The officers of that garrison gave their comrades a dinner, to which ladies also were invited. In the course of it one of these ladies asked a captain of the regiment that was being entertained, what the missionaries were doing in Benares. The captain assured her that there were no missionaries there. 'But they have an orphan-house there,' replied the lady. 'Pardon me; there exists no institution of that kind,' said the captain.

"'But I regularly pay an annual subscription to it.'

"'I believe that; but I was three years in Benares, and must have seen the institution if it existed.'

"Then the gentleman who sat at the lady's right hand said quietly to her, 'Wait a little; and then he asked the captain, 'Did you use to go to church, sir?'

"'Yes. We were commanded to attend.'

"'But who preached in Benares, for there is no Government chaplain there?'

"'True; we had no padres; but the service was conducted by clergymen, who were much beloved by our men.'

"'Strange! Captain; you attended services which were

conducted by missionaries, and you know nothing of the existence of these gentlemen!’

“‘W-h-a-t! Were they missionaries?’

“‘Now, another question, sir. Did you ever see the long building in the street which leads by Sigra to Marawaddi?’

“‘Certainly; it happened once that a fox was lost there, and I rode into the *compound*. There was a heap of little black rascals, who grinned at me. They knew where the fox was, but they would not tell me.’

“‘Then you were in the precincts of the orphan-house of which the lady beside you spoke.’

“‘Indeed! I did not know what it was. I took it for an indigo-factory, or something of that sort.’”

So it is in India—and in Africa and the South Seas it is the same.

In reading the accounts given by scientific and unscientific travellers, the impression has often been made upon us that the gentlemen were annoyed at not finding the nature-peoples *in puris naturalibus*. Certainly the annoyance has its origin partly in a zeal for science—a zeal, according to our limited apprehensions, at the least pedantic and overstrained—which, in the interests of ethnology, would rather have seen the savages retained in their natural condition than civilized and Christianized, that they might be scientifically analysed, and literature be enriched by the analysis. But in part also it rests upon a merely ordinary sensuality, for which science serves only as a cloak, as indeed in other cases it must often do duty as a lofty, ornamental stopper of gaps, when principles, concepts, and burdensome things of that

sort, fail. There are travellers, especially among the constantly increasing class of tourists round the world, who go forth expressly to seek for these *naturalia*, and who record with unmistakable delight, when they have discovered them, or have induced the natives to exhibit them. In the pursuit of these things, they forget and overlook what has been already done for the advance of civilization through the influence of the mission; or, if they cannot ignore it, they jeer at it and caricature it, and thus their statements about the mission are coloured by their disappointment. Hence the frequent phenomenon that even countries in which heathenism is virtually abolished are spoken of in the authentic representations of travellers, who are either indifferent or hostile to missions, as if no ray of Christianity had ever entered them.

Let us adduce only two illustrations from the most recent literature of travels, the first from Von Weber's *Four Years in Africa*; the second from Buchner's *Trip across the Pacific Ocean*. The former book we know only from the *Ausland*, whose character our quotation will show. But first we must apologise to our readers for presenting these quotations in all the "nudity" in which we find them; for this is indispensable to an estimation of this class of travels-literature. We refrain from any remarks of our own; the quotations speak for—or rather against—themselves. The *Ausland* commends Mr. Von Weber as a man who is no "negrophilist," and who "gives a deadly blow to the hollow humanity-phrases, and to the English Government, which depends upon such phrases, and upon the equalising of the blacks with the whites." In his visit to the Bechuana town, Thaba-

Nchu, Mr. Von Weber had an opportunity of attending a national dance, on occasion of a wedding, at which both sexes were arrayed in semi-European costumes. But this uncommonly interesting exhibition, which is referred to as a proof of the "pure, unsophisticated and unperturbed, good-natured, and amiable, child-like nature of the black race," did not satisfy the traveller's zeal for investigation. By the garden hedge he saw hundreds of young maidens, some of them with the most lovely faces, who were attending the festival as spectators. "Not one of them had any European clothing, but all wore the primitive, far more interesting, national costume of the genuine Kaffir maiden. Their bosoms and arms—and of what astonishing modelling they were, such as might fascinate any artist!—are without covering, as well as their legs, to far above the knee." And all these maidens had so refined and intelligent and noble features that Mr. Von Weber felt himself about as much captivated in their presence as if they had been English or German ladies at a ball. At the least, there came over him a quite peculiar feeling of modesty when, with his gold eye-glass on his nose, he examined them one after another, and thought that he discovered in their astonished, earnest, nobly-formed faces something like scornful indignation at his obtrusive observation, wholly unprovoked as it was by them. He went to one of the prettiest, and offered her five shillings if she would induce her companions to come to his waggon, and there to go through a dance after their own fashion. When the maiden refused the money, this German gentleman induced a negro to bring them to comply with his wishes, and it

succeeded. "And now he had for two hours, at his waggon, an exhibition of so splendid a ballet that he assuredly could not have seen a finer at a representation of the *Africanerin* in Berlin or St. Petersburg." The excited description of this ballet we leave to our readers, while we turn from the enthusiastic admirer of these "sons of South Africa" to a no less ardent glorifier of the blooming maidens of the South Seas.

With Herr Buchner, a man who expressly proclaims himself as "no friend of hypocrites," and is "not out of sympathy with any sort of men except the sanctimonious *Reverends* with their white neck-ties, their smooth-parted hair, and their heavenly-illuminated faces"—whom indeed he occasionally styles plough-boys—the native ladies play a prominent part. While he takes care very often to give accounts of his meeting with them, he writes—to our no small amusement:—"Mission-stations, since the last war in New Zealand, seem scarcely to exist any more, as in former times." And yet the inquiring traveller spent two months in New Zealand, and was even in places which were themselves mission-stations. Is not this an amusing pendant to Leupolt's Benares captain? But—as already remarked—there is a peculiarity about eyes: they see only what the heart desires. The national dances, which are in part very obscene, and which are generally performed only in secret, and when bespoken by Europeans, never escaped our traveller in any of the places which he visited. He saw the Haka of the New Zealanders, the Meke-Meke of the Fijians, and the Hulu-Hula of the Hawaiians, "which among the many lascivious Polynesian dances, has the character of being

the most lascivious." In lewd romancist style he describes these dances most particularly. "I regard myself as fortunate," he says in one place, "to have been present at this Meke-Meke." "I was delighted," he says in another, "to find still so much originality of customs." With scorn worthy of Heine, he speaks of the shawls and the "modest clothing" which the "pious missionaries" have forced upon the natives; and always records it with satisfaction where the females of the islands "threw aside the untasteful and unnecessary garments, while their womanly instinct told them that he liked them better so." With quite unmistakable predilection, the traveller dwells upon the sight and exhibition of the nude, in his descriptions of bath scenes and such like. "The nude legs produced a sufficiently æsthetic effect, because they seemed to grow from a short girdle of leaves, which formed the only clothing of the handsome girl." But truly disgusting is what this German physican tells us of the captain of the boat which conveyed him, with some like-minded companions, back to Honolulu. "First he showed us the movements of the Hulu-Hula, with all its horrible refinements; then he railed at the ladies of pious Kohala, who have abandoned it, and praised the maidens of his own district, who are still expert in it. This was all the more interesting that he made the most diabolical grimaces of which the fiendish face of such an obscene and lascivious Kanaka is capable when he speaks of women. The crew applauded him jubilantly."

But enough, and more than enough, of these quotations. That travellers who see with these eyes and write in this style, be they ever so scientifically equipped,

cannot be regarded as competent witnesses when they depreciate the mission, needs no further proof. There are also other books of travel, which inquire into the *naturalia*, not only in respect of sexual matters, and do not seek to attain piquancy by means of lascivities like those mentioned, but which set out with the design of inquiring into and exhibiting antiquity; and so, consciously or unconsciously, they ignore the changes which missions have effected in the sentiments, morals, and ways of living. These sources also can only indirectly be made use of as affording proofs with a view to our subject; that is, so far as there can be read between the lines a testimony for or against the mission; and their statements have more or less value according as their authors are more or less unprejudiced with regard to Christianity.

In every respect the accounts of the missionaries have the advantage that they are supplied by those who understand the matter. Even among those representatives of science in Germany who are not animated by hatred against the gospel of Christ, the conviction is constantly gaining ground that the missionaries are the most credible reporters. Thus, *e.g.*, writes Professor Dr. Gerland, well-known as an anthropologist, and as possessing an intimate knowledge of the South Seas: "I have very carefully and repeatedly studied and compared the sources of information regarding the Australians. The mission-reports, which I have accepted as vouchers, can stand any critical test. They contain no trace throughout of any original revelation among the New-Hollanders, such as Fr. Müller (*Allg. Ethnologie*) supposes; they merely state distinctly what they have found.

On the other hand, the same scholar decides as follows as to the untrustworthiness of the accounts from other sources. "Further, in this inquiry" (whether there be any peoples without religion, but the remark with reference to this is quite universally applicable), "there must be the strictest criticism of the persons from whom we get the accounts. Nothing can be proved by what single individuals may say, and especially when they are degraded, as those belonging to the native-peoples may easily be in their intercourse with white men. Often too, those who were questioned, being wearied or annoyed by endless questions, have given manifestly false and scornful answers, as our own uneducated classes often do in like circumstances; and often they answer falsely through hope of gain. Moreover, those who only stay a short time among a people cannot form a correct judgment of their religious conceptions"—nor of their moral progress and the changes in their outward life, by comparison of the past and the present. "Hence the naturalists, who in their travels have come into contact with this or that people and have questioned them, cannot be regarded as conclusive witnesses without further confirmation."

On the ground of this acknowledgment, which is confirmed by an abundance of amusing misunderstandings and mistakes, into which even experienced travellers, such as Bastian, have fallen, schedules of queries, with a view to the attainment of sure ethnological results, have lately been sent to the missionaries, who were once treated so contemptuously; because, as Dr. Pechuel-Lösche writes to the author—the assistance of these

gentlemen is peculiarly valuable, as their education and their knowledge of languages facilitate the most accurate results. According to the judgment of wholly impartial scientific experts, the matter stands thus: Why in all the world should those missionaries be unreliable witnesses, when the subject of the culture-effects of missions is under consideration? Are they not in this department precisely the competent persons who understand the subject? Who can better compare the past with the present, who better trace and estimate the changes in moral, intellectual, and material life, than those who live constantly among the people, understand their language, and have a Samaritan eye, a Samaritan heart, and a Samaritan hand to help them? Grant that they often treat the subject too sanguinely, and present us with too favourable accounts—although those who are acquainted with periodical mission-literature could also adduce sufficient instances of the opposite—still we have but to make a little abatement, and paint in a few shadows from the hostile camp in the pictures whose lights appear to be too prevalent. But to set aside the missionary sources as untrustworthy, were as if in a history of a war the accounts of military men, or those of artists in a history of art, should be declared to be partizan, and, therefore, not to be made use of! We shall employ the reports of missionaries with all fair criticism; but they must continue to be the main foundation of our representation. We shall take care constantly to supplement them, or even to correct them, by the testimony of such persons from the neutral camp as have a claim to credibility, and even, so far as possible, to allow the enemies to speak.

II.

RELATION OF MISSIONS TO CULTURE.

THE two mission eras already completed, the apostolic and the mediæval, bore, as in many other respects, so also in their relation to culture, a very different character from modern missions. On its entrance into the world Christianity found at once in Greece and in Rome a material and intellectual culture already far advanced; while the African and Asiatic cultured kingdoms of antiquity had fallen more or less from the height of culture which they had once attained. It was under the special leading of divine providence that these culture-peoples formed the object of the first Christian missionary efforts. This is not the place to inquire into the reasons why it pleased God to send the first missionaries to the North rather than the East. Here we have to do only with the question: *In what relation did the mission then stand to culture?* It may seem to a superficial observer that the mission did not prove itself a promoter or even a conservator of culture, since we have before us the undeniable fact that the so-called classic culture crumbled away. Was Christianity unable, or was it unwilling, to sustain that culture? The answer to this question is essentially contained in the following

points. *First*, the whole culture of antiquity was morally undermined, and its crumbling into ruins is not to be charged upon Christianity, but upon heathenism, or the practically materialistic tendency of the age. *Secondly*, Even in antiquity *cultus* and *culture* stood in the closest mutual relation, and the new *cultus* could not possibly amalgamate with the old *culture*. However destitute of faith the so-called educated classes might be, especially in the first centuries of the Christian era, the culture still bore universally the stamp of heathenism, to which the new faith stood in most decided opposition. It may be that men like Tertullian in their zeal went too far; it may be that there was reason to ascribe to the first Christians a certain narrowness in their attitude towards art, science, and the amusements of the age; yet it is certain that Christianity would have been heathenised had it, without more to do, adopted the heathen culture into itself. We see that this adoptive process, when it actually took place almost 1500 years later, in the time of Humanism and the Renaissance, was not accomplished without important troubles and aberrations—troubles which, but for the Reformation, would have been most detrimental to the Christian world. How would it have been if this adoption had taken place at first? *Thirdly*, In the nature of things it was impossible that Christianity in the first stages of its extension and taking root, which were accomplished after the pattern of the mustard-seed and the leaven, should be able to lay new moral foundations to such an extent that the whole heathen culture should have been thereby regenerated, while the leaders of this culture stood in absolute oppo-

sition to the gospel. A *fourth* very important point with respect to the independent development of the European peoples, we shall consider afterwards in another connection.

Nevertheless, the apostolic mission, as even fanatical haters of Christianity, such as Von Hellwald, have to confess, produced eminent cultural results, which indeed were essentially in the department of morals.¹ Since our subject relates only to modern missions, we content ourselves here with a few remarks. The right of individuality, the recognition of the dignity of man, and therewith of humanity, the equality of the sexes, the regeneration of marriage and family life, and the education of children, the gradual abolition of slavery, the moral esteem of labour, and therewith a new economical arrangement, with a whole range of new moral virtues, unselfish love, universal charity, beneficence, meekness, purity—all these are foundations of culture which the gospel of Christ was the first to lay, and which it laid not only in peculiarly favourable circumstances, but in universal human society, whose lowest strata indeed it elevated. The classic culture was, so to speak, aristocratic; it was not, any more than intellectual refinement, a possession of the masses. In the gospel, on the contrary, it is said, "With God there is no respect of persons." What the well-known adversary of the Christians, Celsus, brought as a reproach against Christianity, that its adherents consisted of "weavers, tailors, and tanners, peasants, and simple women," the old apologists turned to account as a proof of its spiritual power. "Among us," they said, "you will find ignorant

persons, mechanics, old women, who, although they cannot prove in words the wholesome influence of the Christian doctrine, prove it by the fact of the wholesome influence of the sentiments that flow from it." On the ground of the planting and nurture of this new moral good, the new Christian culture grew.

The medieval mission occupied an entirely different position in relation to questions of culture. It had to do essentially with uncultured peoples, for whom it was pre-eminently the culture-bringer. This fact is so incontrovertible that even the author of the *History of Culture in its Natural Development* cannot help undertaking the defence of the medieval mission against its blind adversaries, and expressly confessing—although with many invidious side-thrusts—that our whole actual culture-development rests upon the Christianisation of Europe.² The restriction of our theme to the modern mission admits only of our briefly stating this fact; for its special confirmation we must refer to the monographic works which treat of the subject. Doubtless, the medieval mission, and indeed the missionaries with the hardest personal labour, made most important contributions to agriculture, to building, to music and painting, and in part to handicrafts, and even to commerce, and still more to the study of science, the establishment of schools, the foundation of national literature, and, finally, the refinement of rude manners through the gradual inculcation of Christian virtues. For all these culture-movements the medieval mission did much, notwithstanding the extraordinary and often somewhat violent way in which it was conducted. No doubt, this culture-

process was accomplished gradually, and not without disturbances. In order that the hitherto heathen peoples of Europe might not have a comparatively completed culture indiscriminately thrust upon them, which doubtless would have been hurtful to them, physically and intellectually, the educative wisdom of the Divine government of the world arranged it so that they had to make, so to speak, a development of culture *ab ovo*, in which they advanced only step by step on the long and toilsome way of their own work.⁵ Upon this Divine pedagogic depends essentially the solid foundation, as well as the permanence, of the Western Christian culture; while—as we shall see further on—the almost immediate conveyance, to the heathen peoples of the present day, of this culture, which with us has grown gradually by development for more than a thousand years, forms one of the chief difficulties of the modern mission.

The culture question is far more complicated for the modern, than it was for the apostolic and the medieval mission. In both these earlier periods, there was no such difference of culture between the subjects and the objects of missionary work as is the case now. The apostles and their successors upon the whole stood on the same level, in respect of culture, with the peoples to whom they preached the gospel—indeed, rather below them. The medieval missionaries, indeed, occupied a higher platform of culture than the heathen nations among whom they laboured; but the difference was, more or less, only relative, and the Christian world which supported them was by no means highly cultured. The modern missionaries, on the contrary, go from

nations whose superiority in culture over the heathen nations of the present day—even the so-called culture-peoples, such as the Hindus, the Chinese, and the Japanese—is absolute. Besides, through the intervention of secular commerce, a multitude of representatives and factors of the modern culture alongside of the missionaries, and often in opposition to them, exert an influence over the objects of their missionary operations. On the one hand, this superiority in culture, as we shall further on have to show more particularly, affords to the modern mission advantages which the apostolic and the medieval did not possess; but, on the other, it causes difficulties which were unknown in the earlier mission eras; and it is hard to determine which are greater, the advantages or the difficulties. This higher level of culture necessitates that the missionaries, wherever they come, appear as the bearers of the Christian culture of the West, whether they desire it or not; and assuredly they bring with them to-day a wholly different culture from what they would have brought if they had come one, two, or three centuries ago. It is the culture of the nineteenth century that goes along with them. Even so secular commerce, wherever it enters, must also bring with it certain elements of culture, no matter whether it has any consciousness of them or not. It were altogether a short-sighted prejudice to represent the gospel proclaimed through the mission as the only cultural power among the unchristian nations. Culture penetrates everywhere of itself, independently of the gospel, like the atmosphere, which cannot be prevented from penetrating even into closed apartments. Secular

commerce, European colonial powers, political relations, travels of research, are all, intentionally or unintentionally, eminent culture-factors. We emphasise this, that we may not be charged with exaggeration or one-sidedness.

In this concurrence of so manifold culture-factors it is naturally often very difficult, and in some measure impossible, to determine what influence is to be credited to one or other of them. They work into one another's hand with respect to civilizing energy, and here also the saying is not rarely verified. "One soweth, the other reapeth." Yet there are definite advances in culture which can with certainty be pointed to, as more or less exclusively effected by means of missionary operations.

The mission, in its relation to culture, differs from all other culture factors in two particulars. *First*, that its planting and fostering of culture among unchristian nations are not only casual and occasional, but are the result of principle and essential necessity. Throughout the whole of the following representation, we shall have our attention called to two points in order to its illustration. The mission, as the proclaimer of "repentance and the forgiveness of sins," aims principally at a change of the sentiments, a renewal of the heart. That is distinctly the characteristic of Christianity, that it transfers religiousness and morality from outward observances to intention. But with the change of sentiment there necessarily goes hand in hand a change of view, with the change of intention a change of civilization, with the change of the inner life a change of the outer life, a new moral atmosphere must be formed; and hence

the community of converts from heathenism—and indirectly also the surrounding heathen—are influenced in their innermost principles. But it is precisely by this means that the mission lays the special foundation of culture. The evangelic mission, as its fundamental principle, proclaims the gospel to the heathen in their mother-tongue, and as soon as possible gives them the Bible translated into that tongue. It necessarily follows thereupon that it teaches them to read, founds schools, calls a literature into being, and so gives an entirely new impulse to the entire mental life.

Secondly, the mission in its cultural efficacy is actuated by quite different motives from all other culture factors. While with them the motive is essentially egoism in its distinctest form—often indeed under the flag of “humanity”—the fundamental motive of the mission is, “I have compassion on the multitude.” Upon its heart lies in truth the well-being of the natives, both eternal and temporal. To it the heathen are not an object of government, as to the colonial politician; nor an object of enrichment, as to the merchant; nor an object of knowledge, as to the scientist, but an object of salvation. Hence, despite all imperfection on the part of its agents, its watchword is, “We are not weary;” “Love is long-suffering and kind, it seeketh not its own, is not provoked, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.” The mission desires not to take aught from the heathen, but only to give to them. In this motive, as well as in the gifts themselves which she brings, there lies quite another and far more powerful cultural energy than belongs to colonial policy, or

commerce, or science. However the mission may be despised by the "great after the flesh," her weakness is stronger, even with reference to the culture of the heathen, than their strength. For this fact our treatment of the subject will furnish proofs.

It is usual now-a-days to divide unchristian peoples into two main groups, "nature-peoples" and "culture-peoples." We cannot altogether admit the accuracy of these designations, for—to quote Delff—"The conscience and the morals of the so-called nature-peoples do not express the *natural* original condition of mankind; but stand towards it in a retrogressive direction, and the people themselves are deteriorated." Moreover, the so-called culture-peoples in their communities are not to be regarded as truly *cultivated* according to our ideas. It would be more correct to speak of savage and half-civilized peoples. However, for the sake of brevity and common usage, we must adapt ourselves to the accepted terms, since even a faulty terminology cannot always be ignored with impunity.

It is obvious that the relation of the mission to culture is various according to the condition of the peoples with which it has to do; that it is one among the savages, another among peoples more or less civilized. Max Müller, in his *Mission Discourse* already mentioned, characterises the office of the missionary among savage uncivilized peoples as "fatherly, patriarchal." "Let us but read the lately published life of Patteson, Bishop of Melanesia; let us follow him as he sails in his mission ship from island to island, prays for children, takes them away with him, nurses, washes, combs them, as a mother

does her own child, clothes them, feeds them, and when he returns to his episcopal palace, gives them instruction. Indeed, in his so-called palace, he does all himself that elsewhere is done by housemaid, cook, schoolmaster, physician, bishop!" "This work of the fatherly mission is clear and simple, and the results already attained are palpable. Let us look at Polynesia, at Melanesia, at missions such as that of Tinnevely in India, at Africa. These works of Christian love prosper everywhere." Truly we find Müller's testimony to the cultural energy of missionaries very decisive. Among savage peoples the missionary must be everything, teach everything, set the example of doing everything. He must be a father among children, the patriarch of a great family, the teacher among scholars, he must be architect and husbandman, merchant and artisan, road-maker and schoolmaster, counsellor in the affairs of the community, and literateur! He must put his hand to axe and plough, and his wife must teach the native wives to use the broom and the needle. Among all uncivilized peoples the missionary labours at laying the foundation of culture. Later on, the germs of culture which he lays, develop themselves without his direct care, and the development of culture becomes more and more independent on his immediate action. Thus it is natural that the cultural results of the mission among the so-called nature-peoples are most patent, and are most generally acknowledged.

The case is different among the so-called culture-peoples, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese. Here the missionary finds a certain civilization previously existing, at least among the higher classes. We shall see further on that

it is a mistake to regard this civilization as a common possession of the peoples that have been named. Even among the so-called culture-peoples there is work enough for the missionary in laying the foundation of culture. But in making this general statement we admit certain exceptions. The missionary would do a very superfluous work were he to make roads in India, labour at agriculture in China, or teach handicrafts in Japan. His culture-task is here far higher, more spiritual, more internal. Apart from educational and literary activity, through which the mission exercises an eminent cultural influence in the directest way even among these peoples, it here works, like the apostolic mission, essentially by means of its power of moral regeneration, transforming the morals, the social relations, the spiritual atmosphere, and thereby begets, so to speak, a new creative genius, which, to quote the words of the British Indian Government, "inspires the stereotyped life with new energy." Apart from this morally regenerating and spiritually enlivening culture-action of the mission, the modern Western civilization, which is flowing in by means of commerce, would be only outwardly grafted upon the peoples of the East, would be a new patch upon an old garment, and would tend to corrupt and destroy, rather than to enliven the people.

After these indispensable preliminary remarks, we come at length to the subject. We begin with the lowest stage of culture, the use of material goods, and in the first place among the so-called nature-peoples.

The missionaries find these peoples, at least in the warm latitudes, in a condition of nakedness, immodesty,

and impurity. It is manifest that the retention of this state of things cannot consist with the moral views of the gospel, with its demand for purity and decency. In order to waken and to cultivate the feeling of modesty, the Christian missionary must insist upon a certain measure of clothing. There is certainly no necessity for introducing everywhere European clothing. Our Lord Jesus Christ did not clothe Himself after our manner; and we hesitate not to designate those missionaries as narrow-minded pedants, who regard it as a requirement of Christianity to thrust the inhabitants of the tropics into our forms of dress. But however much freedom may rule in reference to the form of the dress, dress itself must be definitely required for the cultivation of purity. The *Ausland* reproaches the missionaries with "stupidity," because they have introduced among the female islanders of the South-Sea clothing with a cotton shirt, and asserts that "the requirements of modesty are only conventional, a product of culture and fashion, an æsthetic, but not a religious necessity;" and imputes to the mission the chief blame for the dying out of the nature-peoples. How singularly these people contradict themselves, in their blind zeal to be able to cast a stone at the mission! They would fain be the special bearers and promoters of culture, and they forbid the inculcation of modesty, which they themselves designate as a product of culture. Through the introduction of light clothing the mission is chargeable with the extirpation of the nature-peoples; while elsewhere the want of clothing and other bodily comforts is represented as one of the reasons for this lamentable fact. Suppose the mission

left the savages in their native costume; without doubt it would be brought as a charge against it, that it was not introducing even the most elementary civilization. But now it introduces this civilization, and is charged as "a murderer of races," and it is declared that "a certain degree of ugliness is even essential to piety," since "the chaste clothing which the pious missionaries impose upon the female islanders is an untasteful anachronism."

The introduction of clothing among the converts is so general a fact that to wear clothing and to be baptized, or to be a catechumen, are often synonymous. It is to be regretted that this is not effected without caricatures. We do not apologise for the missionaries in this matter, but, as we shall see by-and-by, the vanity of the natives, and much more the commerce which recognises no educative or moral motives, are much more responsible for it than the mission.

The natural consequence of the use of ever so elementary a clothing is the inauguration of commercial intercourse, and the introduction or extension of at least a simple industry. The clothing-stuffs must either be manufactured or bought. Leaving out of view for the present the importance of the work, to which in this way the natives are compelled, since they must earn the price to be expended on the articles which the new necessities require—leaving, without consideration for the present the training to work—it is very evident that in order to the supply of the new demands production must ensue, which shall make their realisation possible. Suppose this production does not go directly to the manufacture of the clothing materials, it must be directed to such

things as may be employed in trade as articles of barter, with which payment may be made for the goods purchased; and it is manifest that thereby an impulse is given to a new and very important advance in culture.

Let us next advert for a little to the trade which is occasioned by the activity of the mission. In Metlakatla, a mission station formed among the Indians of British North-America, nearly opposite Queen Charlotte's Island, there has been established, under the direction of the missionary Duncan, a well conducted trade, which excludes the demoralising influences of the white traders, and which supplies the whole means of livelihood to the Christian colony, which now numbers about 800 souls. This trade has enabled the Indians not only to build a church, costing about 30,000 marks, a spacious parsonage and school-house, about a hundred neat dwellings for the colonists, a large store, a saw-mill, a smithy, a soap-manufactory, carpenters' and other work-shops, but also to pay a yearly contribution to the church of about 9 marks for each grown man and 5 marks for each boy. Concerning the Basutos, among whom the Paris Mission now counts more than 5000 self-sustaining church-members, the physician Casalis states: "They are beginning to dress decently, wide tracts of land are cultivated, the plough is introduced, roads and streets are formed, a regular postal connection is instituted, there is a considerable trade, especially in maize, so that the traffic amounts to nearly 3,000,000 of marks a-year." English goods to the value of about 1,500,000 marks yearly, according to the testimony of the veteran Moffat, go to the native races in and around Kuruman, where lately

scarcely a pocket-handkerchief, or a string of beads or other trifles, was bought. Into the Samoan Islands, whose inhabitants are almost entirely Christianised, clothing stuffs and raw material of the value of about 1,000,000 marks yearly are imported, while the exports amount to about 2,000,000. Down to the year 1833, according to the testimony of the English consul Williams, there was little or no regular trade, and before the introduction of the gospel the islands, so far as the civilized world is concerned, were a perfect blank. After an interval of fifty years, on the other hand, more than fifty ships landed yearly, which exported cocoa-nut oil in great quantities. Even in Micronesia, where, as is well known, the mission is still of recent date, a vigorous trade is through its means beginning to flow in. Thus the *Globus* incidentally notices the account of a voyage of the well-known mission-ship the *Morning Star* through Micronesia with peculiar satisfaction: "As a proof that the conductors of the mission-brig in their voyage round the islands have an eye to the practical side, the following items may be quoted from the ship's list of cargo: 92 barrels of cocoa-nut oil, 45 bundles of mats, 15 boxes of mussels, 850 cocoa-nuts, 1 bag of tortoise-shell, 122 boxes of curiosities, weapons, and other native articles." According to a calculation made by the missionary Whitmee, every missionary sent to the Polynesian islands produces an annual trade-revenue of at least 200,000 marks. "Of course, the trade is organised by merchants, but the missionary originates it." Further examples are scarcely necessary; facts are supplied by all mission-fields of so convincing a char-

7

acter that already notice begins to be taken in national-economic literature of the "universal economic importance of the Christian mission." More and more ridiculous becomes the reproach of the unproductiveness of the money expended on the mission. Already from a merely mercantile stand-point it is being recognised more and more as well-invested capital.

"The greatest and most direct advantage accrues to the merchants, from all missions," says Dr. Hübbschleiden in his last published book, *Ethiopia*. An American clergyman, Hood, has calculated, on the ground of statistical data, that the traffic originated by means of the mission repays tenfold the capital expended. The mission to the Sandwich Islands cost the American Board 5,000,000 dollars in all; while the trade—which, be it observed, does not come to the benefit of the mission but of the commercial community—amounted at the end of sixty years to about 16,000,000 of dollars, with a clear yearly profit of 2,644,000 marks, so that the profit of two years covers the whole of the capital expended. An acute merchant, who had been invited to establish a mercantile business in New Guinea, said lately to the London Society's missionary, Whitmee, "Your mission there has not been so long in operation that it would be advisable for us to go there yet." The mission is in a twofold respect a pioneer for commerce. It creates the needs of civilized life, and is at the same time a protective power, afar in the heathen world, which contributes more to the security of commerce than many ships of war. Wherever Christianity has struck its roots, their trading vessels can land safely, and the

traders can fearlessly go on their way. "It is not yet long"—so testifies the missionary Moffat—"since it was regarded as a very dangerous undertaking to travel into the interior, and in fact it was a risk to go a mile from the mission-station (Kuruman). Now, I am glad to be able to say that through the influence of the missionaries the natives are so far advanced in civilization that they can be depended upon. Now traders and others almost constantly travel among the savage races without incurring danger or being plundered. It is to be remembered that formerly traders were often treacherously murdered by the natives, or taken prisoners and never released. Now all fear of this is at an end." Thus in Western Africa and in the South Seas the mission has afforded the best guarantee of security to commerce, by restraining the savagery of the natives. "In fact, in every place which has come under the influence of the missionaries, I have always found the natives peaceful, friendly disposed, and inclined to fair trade." Such is the testimony of Captain Markham, commandant of the English ship of war, the *Rosario*, in his report to both Houses of Parliament. The fact is so well known and indisputable that it is wholly unnecessary to adduce further proof of it. Where in all the world has any other cultural factor accomplished aught like this, even with force at its disposal? In the South Seas the kidnapping ships frequently tried to throw the natives off their guard, and allure them on board, by dressing up one of the crew as a missionary clergyman! Should not this diabolical craft, by means of which the mission has been so much discredited, and to which, *e.g.*, the noble

+ 7 } Patteson, bishop of Melanesia, fell a victim, be regarded as a proof that under the mission flag a safe landing can be effected, and that it has power to tame the savages? And not savages alone. China has indeed been opened to Western commerce by the force of cannon, and this force is still its chief protection. But without doubt the central kingdom would stand opener to Western commerce had its doors been opened by mission-work instead of war. At all events the English consul at Tient'sin, Forrest, testifies that more has been done towards the opening of China by the unselfish charity practised by the missionaries in the late terrible famine than by a dozen wars.

But while the mission, by giving stimulus and security to commerce, has—as must be acknowledged—done so good service to culture, and has established a claim to the gratitude of the commercial world, it is remarkable that trade has shown much bitterness, and furnished matter of accusation against the missionaries, who have been charged with being traders themselves, and with robbing the natives, not indeed to enrich themselves, but to fill the mission-treasury. As the accusation, which the *Gartenlaube* lately dished up anew in one of its slanderous articles against the mission,⁴ will probably come again into fashion, it seems to be incumbent on us to interject a few remarks here in order to elucidate the facts of the case. It has been already pointed out why it is that colonists and traders are so hostile to the mission, and raise so many evil reports concerning it; and so we are prepared to mistrust the testimony of accusers who are so little entitled to be regarded as

impartial. These gentlemen feel themselves hampered by the missionaries in their lawless plundering of the natives. In the first place, we accept with satisfaction the acknowledgment that no accusation is brought against the missionaries of any desire to enrich themselves personally—as Dr. Pechuel-Lösche expressly assured the writer orally, on the ground of a peculiarly abundant experience—although, indeed, we by no means deny that here and there a case may have occurred in which a missionary has extended somewhat beyond the measure of necessity the barter which he was obliged to carry on, since he could not pay in money for what he needed. We do not consider it our duty in any measure to deny, or even to cloak, real faults. Being fully aware of the danger to which personal trading exposes the missionary, all missionary societies, so far as we know, have forbidden their agents to engage in it, excepting in so far as by their position they are necessitated to provide for the supply of the necessaries of life by barter for natural products.

Yet in certain mission-fields—*e.g.*, in the South Seas—the missionaries do carry on a sort of trade. Why is it so? It is the aim of all healthy missionary action to found self-sustaining churches of converts from heathenism, who, without aid from the home mission treasury, build churches and schools, pay pastors and teachers, and send evangelists of their own to their heathen countrymen. Doubtless, a highly commendable aim, which, apart altogether from the blessed influence on the religious life, should be acknowledged by all friends of culture as an eminent cultural factor, since it is manifest

that through this training in independence there must be an extraordinary advance in independent action, and both mental and spiritual powers must be awakened which have slumbered hitherto, and whose waking constitutes a great advance in culture.

Thus the natives must pay a certain church contribution, which involves a larger production on their part than existed hitherto—a circumstance which, regarded from a cultural point of view, can only recommend the mission to the favourable regard of the friends of this stand-point. This church rate, as well as perhaps the additional outside mission contributions, the people in the great majority of cases cannot pay in money, because this currency does not exist in the lower stages of civilization. The natives consequently must either dispose of their products to the trader and exchange them for money, or else they must pay in kind, as was formerly the universal custom in our own country. In many cases the mission prefers the latter method, simply because it is not certain that the sale to the trader is advantageous, and because the gift in kind has a greater material and moral value. In this way the mission comes into possession of a portion of the products of the land, which it must sell, at least in part, in order to procure money for its own use. Now, do the missionaries commit a wrong if they themselves bring these products to Sydney to market, instead of handing over the profits to intermediate traders, who are hostile to the missions? The case is quite similar when, as we stated with respect to Metlakatla, the missionary superintends the private trading of his Christians, or some-

times takes it into his own hand. He does this for no other reason than to protect the inexperienced people from being over-reached, to prevent the exchange of the products for brandy and such like articles, and to cut off, as far as possible, the demoralising influences of unprincipled white traders. Can he be blamed for this? It is on grounds like these that several missionary societies have been induced formally to constitute mission trading companies at their stations; as the Church of the Brethren, which is partly dependent for its subsistence on the profits of its trade, the Basel and the Rhenish missionary societies. It is really the knowledge, or, as it may be confidently said, the sense of duty, that the mission has a task assigned to it as an educator in culture, which has formed the motive for founding such trading companies, which, as facts incontrovertibly prove, have been a great blessing to the natives. For no unprejudiced person can deny that it were a stigma upon civilization to give the name of a culture-power to a trade which is based upon a system of robbing the natives, and upon their physical and moral corruption through brandy. Simply in a cultural aspect it must be regarded as matter of congratulation that the mission companies, by the undertaking of a trade founded on morality, and honestly designed for the good of the natives, are seeking to do away with the influences of the demoralising and oppressive trade. In other respects, the question as to the connection of the mission with mercantile operations is far too complicated to admit of our entering upon all the circumstances of it in this place. For our purpose, that of pointing out the

cultural importance of the mission as a trader, enough has been said.

Still more important than the trade originated by the mission is the handicraft which it has established and promoted. This also takes its start from moral motives. It is not only that the requirement of modesty necessitates the providing of some sort of clothing, however simple; but Christian morality desires also a dwelling corresponding to human dignity, decency, and purity. Building plays an important part in the mission. First, the missionary builds a simple small house for himself, to which he soon adds a school and a church. Generally he must himself superintend this work; often enough, indeed, he must execute it with his own hand, and it stands him in good stead to have been a tradesman at home. But he induces the natives also to help him, and, much patience as it requires on his part, he undertakes to instruct them. Gradually his word and his example produce their effect, and the converts from heathenism begin to build new and more decent dwellings for themselves. "Before the arrival of the missionaries"—we read in an article in the *Revue des deux Mondes* (15th June, 1866)—"the natives had no word to express home comfort. How different it is now! The low leaf-thatched huts have given way to comfortable houses. The improvement of the dwellings is said to elevate the character of the inmates. Therefore in some schools the pupils are even instructed in the elementary principles of architecture. All kinds of household furnishings are now seen under roofs overshadowed with bananas. There are no people for whom comfort has not some attraction."

For a long time not the missionaries alone, but also the native evangelists and Christians, are the teachers of their heathen countrymen in the elements of architecture. Wherever they go, they plant the civilization to which they have themselves been elevated. Not otherwise is it in Africa—*e.g.*, at the Basel stations, on the West coast. A certain Mr. Harris, who, at a meeting of the Anthropological Society in England, had reproached the missionaries as do-nothings, “who live in high houses and give costly entertainments,”⁶ and had caricatured the negroes as a mere sort of “imitative brutes,” was answered, among others; by Zimmerman, who had been for a quarter of a century a missionary on the Gold Coast. “Did not I put tools into the hands of these natives and teach them to fell timber, to saw boards, and to make them into doors and window-frames? Did not I myself dig the clay and make the first hundred bricks, in order that the *imitative brute* might do the same? Did not I dig the ground and build the foundation walls of brick and lime, until I could trust *these brutes* to proceed by themselves? Yes! I have now a house which shelters me, and, compared with the sheds of the natives, it is more like a palace. You say: The African is like the ape, an animal gifted with the power of imitation. Well! Only his power of imitation goes a little beyond that of the brute. He imitates especially the missionary; and hence it comes that the mission now possesses a second house, and these brutes have just finished the building of a school, and are setting about the erection of a chapel, which will far surpass my dwelling-house—all of bricks. And in the towns, where

twenty-two years ago, saw, chisel, and plane were unknown, there are now tradesmen who saw and work wood, make bricks and build with them, hammer and forge iron, and for all that they can do they have to thank the missionaries." Not otherwise is it on the Niger, to say nothing of Sierra Leone and Liberia, among the Herero, the Hottentots, the Kaffres, and the Basutos. Yea, even in India there is in this respect a notable difference between the Christian and the non-Christian villages. In short, wherever the mission has got foothold, there more respectable and cleaner dwellings take the place of the miserable huts, with their filth and their rude furnishing; there an elementary architecture begins to spring up. With reference to Minahassa in Celebes, the well-known naturalist Wallace testifies: "The missionaries have a right to be proud of this place. They have helped the Government in a remarkably short time to convert savage tribes into a civilized people. Forty years ago the land was a wilderness, the people a multitude of naked barbarians, who decorated their roughly-made huts with human skulls. Now the place is a garden, worthy of its beautiful national name, Minahassa."

Inseparable from this of course is handiwork, as has been already indicated by the foregoing quotations. We pass by for the present the Basel Industrial Institutions, regarding whose cultural value to the whole of the West Coast of Africa, one note of praise prevails among friends and foes: ⁷—to cast a hasty look upon the well-known Berlin Mission Station Botschabelo, which has become a flourishing culture-establishment in Basutoland. There

is there, for example, a waggon-manufactory, under the superintendence of a German foreman. "We enter the first apartment, a smithy, where stands the black hammerman, Adam, by the vice; a gun-lock which he has been repairing lies before him. Now he has the solder-pot in his hand. What is he soldering? Tin moulds for all sorts of baked figures, which are to be upon the Christmas tree. If we wait a little longer, we shall see how he fixes an iron tire upon a waggon-wheel. From the smithy we go into the second workshop, the carpenter's shop. There again stands a black workman, Jacobus, who measures with compasses, cuts, hews, planes, &c. We see him with a waggon-axle in hand. The man was formerly very stupid; now there is no appearance of stupidity about him. From the Basutos we pay a visit, among the Kaffres, to the Free-Scottish Mission-Station, Lovedale. Here proper industrial schools are established, which already exhibit astonishing cultural results. We pass by the waggon-factory, the smithy and the carpentry, to enter first into the bookbinding shop, which, on account of want of room in Lovedale itself, is situated about two English miles off, in an old inn in King William's Town Street. Bookbinding is not a favourite occupation among the Kaffres, and so there are only two black apprentices in this occupation. But the excellence of the execution is shown by the fact, that in an exhibition held some years ago in Cape Town, two ornamental bindings done here carried off the prize, although numerous specimens were sent by white workmen from all parts of the colony. Where books are bound, they must also be printed, and, in point of fact,

Lovedale has its own press. This occupies two apartments. In the lower is the large printing press, and all the heavy work is carried on. Here, besides a multitude of books, two or three periodicals in Kaffre and English are printed, of which over 30,000 copies are despatched yearly through the post. In the upper room are the cases of type—a work which the Kaffre takes to with special pleasure. Close by is a book shop, under the oversight of a European, but served by Kaffres. Here there is a great stock of books of all sorts, especially books of instruction and school-books, and the demand is considerable. The book shop is also the post-office, and its black superintendent is postmaster. The mission-station requires a branch office for itself; for the 500 persons, or thereabouts, who are connected with it—pupils, scholars, apprentices, overseers in the industrial department, teachers, missionaries, and church members—imply no inconsiderable amount of correspondence. Exclusive of the copies of periodicals, the Lovedale post forwards yearly upwards of 10,000 letters and packets. Even a telegraphic office has been established. Dr. Stewart, who was teaching chemistry and physics, was desirous to make his instruction on electricity as real and practical as possible, in order to exhibit to his scholars how the electric current is employed for the conveyance of messages from place to place. With this view he first made some experiments in the schoolroom, and then laid a telegraphic wire to Alice. The experiment succeeded perfectly, and when his scholars had made good progress in this new art, Dr. Stewart applied to Government, and in 1872 obtained their consent that

Lovedale should be a telegraphic station. The black telegraphists prove themselves as expert as their colleagues in England. In 1876, the number of messages received and sent was 2105, and among them were not a few from or to natives. A similar institution has been established by the Scottish Free Church Mission among the Fingos at Blythswood. Of the many testimonies which have been borne in the most diverse quarters to the excellent influences of the Missionary Institutes on the civilization of the Kaffres, we introduce only one, that of the present Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Bartle Frere, who, in one of his messages to the Cape Parliament, says: "Nothing can more surely prevent future Kaffre wars than the multiplication of Institutions like those of Lovedale and Blythswood, especially if they extend their industrial training so as to include agriculture."

And with what comparatively small means does the mission accomplish such cultural results! According to accounts given in the *Cape Argus*, every Kaffre that was killed in the last Kaffre war but one cost the Government 2500 marks! We believe this sum to be stated far too low. What immense sums the present Zulu war is swallowing up cannot yet be estimated. Only the expenditure on war-materials already amounts to more than 2,000,000 marks. Without doubt it is a far more costly thing to kill the natives than to Christianise them. If the Government gave the mission but a tithe of the war charges, there would be more than ten times as many Kaffres saved for culture as the wars have destroyed. Still more striking is this fact in the case of

the North American Indians. The sums are absolutely terrific which the Indian policy and the Indian war absorb. It has been computed that every Indian shot down by the troops of the United States has cost some 400,000 marks, without reckoning the destruction of private property and the expenditure of human life! Let us suppose that the sum is stated too high, and let us reduce it even to its fourth part—is it not altogether a terrible thing that the death of an Indian should cost 100,000 marks? It is not long ago that in our Chamber of Deputies railing witticisms were indulged in about the 500 thalers which every Kaffre was said to cost the Berlin Missionary Society. We have not yet heard that attention has been called in the same quarter with moral indignation to the many thousands of thalers that a slaughtered Indian actually costs the North American Government! A look at Metlahkatla, with its neat houses, its regulated trade, its industries, its well organised community and its well-conducted inhabitants, shows at how surprisingly cheap a rate a Government can accomplish cultural results even among the Canadian Indians. They have only to give material and moral support to missionaries like Mr. Duncan; a Government cannot itself produce such men. It is matter of much rejoicing that the fundamental principles on which the Metlahkatla missionary has proceeded in the formation of his Indian community have been accepted by Act of Parliament and order of Government for the whole Canadian Confederation. But for the carrying out of these principles, men filled with the spirit of Mr. Duncan are required, and these men must be supplied

by the mission. A vigorous support of the mission is as wise as it is wholesome policy. Professor Gerland is perfectly right when—founding upon the fact that “as soon as culture approaches the nature-peoples, not as hostile but pacific, and elevates them to its level, instead of exterminating them, there is not one of them that may not be won”^s—he claims support for the mission from the civil powers. “The powers which have colonies among the nature-peoples—England especially—have the greatest interest in a proper efficacy of the missions; for by means of them they would at once avoid useless wars, and further, the natives themselves would be won for the colonies. For political reasons the missions ought to be supported by all means, not forcibly introduced, only supported, and at the same time watched over with observant eyes.”

After this digression, if such it can be called, we must once more return to the impulse given to industry by the mission. It is a suggestive symbol that the statue of Dr. Livingstone erected in Edinburgh represents the great traveller and missionary with the Bible in one hand, and the other resting on an axe. With these two great means of culture—to which the plough might have been added—the men have in fact set to work who have proceeded to East Africa in these last years, to erect for their noble countryman a living monument after his own heart. It is well known that in connection with the Scottish Free and Established Churches, the English Church, and the London Missionary Society, in the course of the last years, missionary expeditions have been set to work at the Nyassa, Nyanza, and the Tanganyika

Lakes, which form parts of the various enterprises to which the zeal for discovery and for missions has everywhere given rise in the present day. It is evidently impossible as yet to speak of any considerable result of these undertakings, apart from the roads that have been made, the cultivation of land which has already been entered on, and the terror which has been communicated to the slave-dealers. But in their whole tendencies and designs these mission-settlements are foci of culture. As Livingstonia and Blantyre, which are already established after the pattern of Lovedale, so the settlements on Nyanza and Tanganyika will become industrial missions like that which was somewhat earlier established at Frere Town (Mombassa). Lay missionaries are associated with the ordained men, and their immediate task is to become teachers of the natives in all sorts of handiwork, navigation, agriculture, trade, &c., whereby at the same time the scandalous slave-trade may be supplanted by better and honourable industries. This is not the place to enquire how far those so-called Industrial Missions, which Bishop Crowther has also recommended for the Niger mission, are based upon evangelical and perfectly sound and right principles. We have here to do only with the fact that truly magnificently equipped missionary undertakings have a decided cultural tendency, and in order to the realising of it are ready to make very important offerings of men's lives. Now many champions of culture at home have their mouths indeed very full of culture-phrases, but do nothing in order effectually to plant culture where its introduction is beneficial. Or shall it be deemed a great act of culture-heroism to slander

the mission, which effectively, with the greatest sacrifices, fights culture-battles and achieves culture-victories? On this question we are forcibly reminded of the well-known song of Emil Rittershaus, which Pastor Weber, in his address to the Berlin Conference in August, 1877, quoted as a testimony from the hostile camp, to the loving activity of the decried "pietists." The song is worth making room for in this place.

"The cloud of grief is o'er our heads suspended,
The tear of anguish to our eyes will start;
We ask ourselves, Wherein have we offended
That so estranged we are from every heart?
Freedom's grand gospel we've been still proclaiming;
Our hand has never in the fight grown tired;
What crime in acting, or what sin in aiming,
Has made us fail in that which we desired?"

"Ye Liberals, listen! Well now, without shrinking,
Without reserve I tell it clear and bold:
Upon the Alpine pinnacles of thinking
Full many a heart is frozen icy cold.
We fight against the poisoned fangs of lying,
A lofty aim beatifies our breast;
But how the prodigal, the poor, the sick, the dying,
With love to help—this secret we have missed.

"Speak! Do we visit poverty's damp dwelling?
Say! Does your kindly sympathy allure
To tell the woe wherewith the heart is swelling?
And have you helped when help was in your power?
For future times indeed you've oft been writing
A fair prescription—a well-ordered plan:
Who helps to-day with love to help inciting,
Himself forgetting, is the proper man.

"Behold the prisoner from his cell departing!
O God! what curse does still his steps pursue!
Whose eye is on him on his new path starting?
Who loving helps? Do you? or you? or you?"

Nay, none of you. Nor he, nor any other,
By cunning tale, your sympathy can list.
There is but one who calls the outcast brother,
And bids him speed—it is the Pietist."

Only quite trifling variations are necessary in order to adapt this noble testimony to our purpose. In place of the *Home*, we have only to substitute the *Foreign* mission—in place of the poor and the prisoners, the uncultured heathen. Who goes to them to bring them culture? Is it you—you who exalt culture so far as to substitute it for religion? It is not you. Who teaches these poor heathen to build dwellings and make roads? Who teaches them handicrafts and husbandry? Who makes their existence worthy of humanity, and cares for their earthly well-being? It is the pietist—none other than that pietist who is constantly reproached as the enemy of culture. A well-known Israelitish sage long ago made this statement, which has been accepted and freely quoted even by unbelievers: "By their fruits ye shall know them." It almost appears as if the culture-war were designed to cause even this word to be forgotten.

As the mission originates and advances trade and industry, so also does it agriculture and horticulture. Through the practice of agriculture, and the division of property that is connected with it, and the development of the conception of *rights*, the mission brings into operation a means of culture of extreme importance. Wherever the qualities of the soil admit of it, every mission station is a sort of experimental farm. If only to provide for his own subsistence, the missionary in most mission districts has to resort to some field or garden culture, to

import new plants and animals, &c. As in his house-building, so in his field-cultivation, he takes the natives into his service, teaches them to use the spade and the plough, and to follow for themselves the example which he sets them, so as to improve their outward condition as much as possible. So far as the character of the land admits of it, the missionaries endeavour to accustom the nomadic tribes to stationary life; and great as the difficulties are which generally stand in the way of their endeavours, yet they are not without results, as, *e.g.*, the history of the Rhenish mission in the Namaqua and Herero Lands shows. In many mission-fields—*e.g.*, in South Africa and partly in the South Sea Islands—the mission is a great land-owner. No little blame has been cast upon it on this account. It may indeed be questioned whether it was right for the mission in New Zealand, in some sort of concert with the colonists, to participate in those great land-purchases which have proved so disastrous to the peace of the people. But, so far, it is beyond doubt that the motive was not acquisitiveness. The object rather was to secure existence for the mission as against the all-absorbing acquisitiveness of the colonists, while at the same time it provided a guarantee for what was becoming a necessity, the employment and the maintenance of the natives. In the acquisition of land in South Africa there was a two-fold object—first, to maintain the mission by the produce or rent or quitrent; and next, to afford to the natives opportunity and inducements to engage in agriculture for the improvement of their own condition. Most of the mission-lands there were leased to the

natives at a comparatively small rate—a proceeding which in some degree secures the independence of the natives against the constant encroachments of white colonisation. There is a vast difference between the possession of the land by white colonists, and its possession by the mission. The latter has the good of the natives earnestly at heart, while the former pursue selfish ends. Only in the hand of the mission is the cultivation of the soil at the same time a means of education and refinement for the natives. So in Australia the Church of the Brethren * with its enduring love, which ever seeks and helps the most wretched, have taken up the Papuas when almost trodden under foot by the colonists, and at the stations Ebenezer and Ramahyuck have accomplished very happy results, which have even found favour in the eyes of the *Globus*. Even people unfavourable to the mission cannot wonder enough at the changes which have been effected for natives who were regarded as incapable of civilization; at the orderly houses in which they live, the cleanly clothes which they wear, the healthy children which they rear, and the industry with which they cultivate their fields. At Ramahyuck they produce arrowroot, a specimen of which gained a prize at the World's Exposition in Vienna. Moreover, the hop is cultivated there, and all things have been introduced that the station requires as necessaries of life. All this, as well as further commendation of the decency, frugality, and readiness of the inhabitants of the station, is confirmed by a Government Commission, which undertook a revision of the land settlement in the beginning

* Whom we call Moravians. — *Trans.*

of 1877.⁹ The Government of Victoria have lately commissioned the missionary brethren, Hagenauer and Kramer, to make a circuit among the native blacks, and urgently to invite them all to settle at the mission stations.

Let us hear what the eloquent Meinicke testifies in general with reference to the training in agricultural work by the missionaries in the South Seas: "The reproach which has been cast upon the missionaries that they give no heed to civilization in comparison with conversion is most unfair. They have done far more for civilisation than those who censure them. It did not escape them that traffic with European countries is necessary for the further refinement of the South Sea peoples, and they soon perceived that, as these islands supply but a few natural products fit to become objects of commerce, the cultivation of such objects must be encouraged. Most of the attempts to stimulate the natives to this have been made by the London missionaries in the Society Islands. As early as 1818, they attempted to teach the manufacture of sugar from the canes which are so abundant in Tahiti. The attempt was frustrated by the jealousy of Pomare; and the subsequent undertakings of the sort (in Tahiti and Hawai) have been in the hands of other Europeans intent upon their own profit, and consequently they have had no influence on the inhabitants. In 1821, the Missionary Society sent one Blossom, a carpenter, and a man called Armitage, to teach them the dressing of cotton; but their endeavours had no success, and it was undoubtedly a mistake to try to employ a people

unaccustomed to sustained labour in a business which is so complicated, and which requires so much perseverance. There was more success with some other employments, which the Society Islanders owe to the missionaries. In Eimeo Mr. Simpson has introduced the manufacture of ropes from cocoa-nut fibres and the bark of the *hibiscus tiliaceus*. In Raiatea the cultivation of tobacco soon spread after the settlement of Williams, and promised well until the duties imposed at Sidney, the only port where the product could be sold, greatly injured it. Since 1835, the Americans on the island Nauti have been making a similar attempt to that of the London Missionaries, to teach the manufacture of cotton cloth." And since then far more has been done, and with better results, in all quarters for land cultivation, and arboriculture. Even the *Gartenlaube*, in the abusive article already mentioned—"The Island Ninafu,"—gives involuntary testimony that the islanders must reap a very considerable harvest of cocoa-nut oil or *Copra*, since they were able to pay the otherwise impossible Government tax of 28 marks a year for each adult, to say nothing of their contribution to the mission, which the anonymous writer, confident of the credulity of the mission-hating readers of the *Gartenlaube*, screws up to 48,000 marks—that is, 160 marks per head of the tax-paying population!

At a conference of the native pastors, deacons, and teachers, held in Rarotonga, the following resolution, among others, was passed: "Also, we would encourage the people at all the stations not to live in badly built but well built houses, to sleep in beds, and not on a

litter of dried grass, and to be careful in all matters of cleanliness. The chiefs and land-owners should be asked to make over uncultivated lands to others: but the people who take such lands, unless they cultivate them, shall be liable to be fined."

Cast we now a glance at West Africa. In Sierra Leone and Liberia agriculture has indeed been somewhat neglected in comparison with trade, "which plays decidedly the chief part," and with handicraft, in which "the free negroes specially excel," but greater attention has been paid to it of late. All the more has been accomplished in this direction by the North-German and Basel Missionary Societies. The former conducts coffee-planting under the superintendence of special managers. It has given particular attention to palm and orange plantations, and is able to report that these are thriving vigorously. The works of the Basel Society on the Gold Coast deserve a more detailed notice in this connection. Let us hear a report on the Station Abokobi by the Missionary Zimmerman in 1874.

"When I look back upon the time when, in May 1850, Brother Locher and I, with the Brothers Dieterle and Mohr, first passed through, when Abokobi consisted of three such wretched huts that the brethren did not stop, but only Brother Dieterle called out to us from a high hamper, "That is Abokobi; if you wish to look at it, come on afterwards to Kpongpo, which is half an hour's travel from this where we stop;"—or, when I remember how in October 1854, when, having been plundered we fled before the English cannon, and found a resting-place here for ourselves and our forty people, we

had to be content with two small apartments and a shed, I can only say, "The Lord has founded Abokobi and caused it to grow, even as the mustard seed." That must be acknowledged even by the heathen, who have no eyes for what is spiritual in missions. So much is proclaimed by its outward aspect, inasmuch as it exhibits all that could be desired in respect of its wide extent and its luxuriant vegetation. Coming by the road from the south, from Osu (Christiansborg) upon the still half-heathen south end of the village, there lies before you the main street of the village, running south and north, 50 feet broad and 1000 feet long, lined with handsome shady trees which completely cover it, and planted with the fine Sierra-Leone grass, with a beautiful road of iron-pyrites in the middle. It is crossed at right angles by three bye-streets of equal length running east and west, lined with fruit trees, mangoes, oranges, and lemons, on which, at our arrival in December 1873, a ripe crop was hanging along with splendid blossoms, which have now ripened into a second crop of fruit. Similar to the main street is a parallel street running south and north, and at the intersection of this with the middle east and west street, which runs between the mission-house and the school, an open square forms the middle point of the village, on which the chapel stands. Eastward from this square, and abutting upon the main street, stand the mission-house and the girls' school, being the corner houses of the main street and the middle cross street. Near the chapel stands the teachers' house, and on the two outer cross-streets, where they intersect the main street, the old mission-house, now occupied by the

catechist Paul Fleischer, and the house of Paul Mohenu, form goodly corner-houses. Opposite the old mission-house stands the second catechist's house. Around the chapel and the mission dwellings as a centre are grouped the houses of the Christians. All of them have sufficient accommodation, for here there is no lack of ground, while the heathen part of the village, and its suburb the old little village, is somewhat more closely built. Five roads of course only footpaths, but better than in other negro villages, lead outward in all directions. Those from the south and the north are daily trodden by hundreds of burden-bearers laden with oil and goods. If the village had water, or if the Dakobi brook, which flows ten minutes' walk eastward, were only regulated so that it should not form swamps, the village would soon become a town; for although it numbers only between 500 and 600 inhabitants, of whom nearly one half are heathen, yet it is already superior in size, though not in population, to all the villages round about, indeed to most of our negro-villages; and already a goodly number of tradesmen are settled here."

In the notes we give a special view of the activity displayed by this church in the advancement of husbandry.¹⁰

On the 18th December of last year, the Basel Missionary Society celebrated the fiftieth-year jubilee of its work on the Gold Coast, which has been as laborious as it has been blessed. With reference to the encouragement of land-cultivation, the unadorned Report mentions the results that have been effected. "Wells have been dug, roads made, plantations formed, experi-

ments have been made for the importation of useful animals. Wherever the mission has been established, even the outward appearance of the country has been changed. The primitive forest, with its poisonous vapours, begins to disappear, and makes way for regular plantations; friendly Christian villages rise up alongside of the filthy towns and villages, &c."

On the 12th February of the present year, Leopold, King of the Belgians, as president of "the International Society for the Exploration and Civilizing of Africa," wrote to S. Crowther, bishop of the Niger mission, as follows:—"I have received the communication which your Grace was good enough to address to me on the 23rd September of last year, and regard it as a privilege to enter upon lively intercourse with a prelate whose burning zeal and energy have already produced so important results for the civilisation of Africa. The example set by the bishop of the Niger country is an important encouragement for our designs. The work to which he devotes himself is full of difficulties. We Belgians would congratulate ourselves were we able to contribute our stone to this great edifice. Our undertakings are still in their infancy, but I allow myself to hope that it shall be our lot to reap some fruit in the future. It would be very pleasing to me if your Grace would from time to time make me acquainted with your works and their results, as also with your plans for the future. Although our field of operations is far distant from the Niger, yet we take a lively interest in what is in progress there. I cherish the sincerest good wishes for your Grace, and beg you to receive the assurance of my esteem."

In his important book lately published, *Ethiopia*, Dr. Hübbe-Schleiden speaks of the missions on the Gaboon, and their cultural significance. The testimony which he gives rests upon his own personal observation, and is of so much greater value since it is from the mouth of a jurist and merchant, and since it relates to districts in which the direct fruits of missions are not yet considerable in point of numbers. Among other statements, our countryman makes the following: "These two missions—the American Presbyterian in the south, and the French Catholic in the north of Libreville—are among the most important things that can be seen with respect to modern culture in Gaboon. In the first zeal for their different confessions, it has been the attainment of both institutions to impart to a negro tribe at least the external aspect of our civilization, so far as perhaps no other tribe of the Ethiopian race has been brought to it. This tribe is the Mpongoues, the remains of the old Pungo-tribe, who are now erroneously called the Gabonese. . . . The American mission station is universally known, especially through the prominence of the name of the place on maps and in books of travel, as the Baraka mission. To such prominence this mission is well entitled, since it has not at its command anything approaching to the resources which the French mission employs, and since, however its principles make teaching and preaching its main work, it is all the more to be acknowledged that it has given and is giving unmistakable proofs of a *blessed* efficiency. Of course it is not to be expected that any mission should turn Ethiopians into Europeans, and in fact the Mpongoues are to this day thoroughly negroes in character,

manners, and sentiments, as well as in their outward appearance. Also to change the inner being of a race just as of an individual man, is a far more difficult and tedious process than to teach them manners, knowledge, and dexterity; and in obstinate conservatism the negro scarcely falls behind our European peasantry. But the inner being will gradually follow more outward advances, if not in this generation, yet, perhaps, in the next, or in the third or fourth succeeding generations. No education can begin with a real understanding of civilization; practical directions in all sorts of useful things must lay the foundation, and instruction in the more easily intelligible departments of human knowledge must afterwards widen gradually the horizon of intellectual view. When it is considered that these negroes are still living without the essential conditions of our civilization, our European relations of right and life, and cannot be easily brought under their influence, the unprejudiced observer must rejoice to see the intellectual cultivation of at least the younger people advancing. . . . But it is not language and intellectual cultivation alone that they have learnt from the mission, but above all, European handicrafts and a certain taste for independent labour.

“The results attained by the French missions in Senegambia and Bagamoyo, on the east coast of Equatorial Africa, opposite Zanzibar, are well known and have been often told; and the same spirit is at work here in Gaboon. But all such attempts have a real advantage in Western Equatorial Africa, that Islam and Mohammedan half-culture have not penetrated there,

and consequently the missionaries have not to contend with such distinct prejudices against our culture.

“Catholicism also may perhaps claim peculiar facilities for winning the Fetish worshipper to our civilization, since the missionary, renouncing in the first instance an intrusive intellectualism, gives the negro, in substitution for his fetish, the consecrated cross and the images of saints and for the rest devotes himself forthwith to practical and immediately attainable ends. Be it the mysterious working of this homœopathic image-worship, or be it the practical maxims and the sound energetic sense of the missionaries, the eminent results of these missions cannot be denied. Most of those who labour in the Catholic mission in Gaboon are Alsatians and Lotharingians; and the exterior of their stately establishment bears the impress of the spirit which rules within it. All is solidly built of stone. In front is a plain but very spacious church, and beside it the mother-house, through which a broad passage leads to the court behind. Round the latter are placed dwelling-houses and school-rooms; then farther back workshops, dormitories, a hospital, and again a school-house, and behind all, whatever is necessary for the extensive plantations of the mission, as well as for its cattle-breeding. Near the store-houses and the cattle stables are the beginnings of factories for machinery, in order to an improved treatment of the products of the land. Very interesting indeed are the experiments which have been made here with a pressing machine, for the easier obtaining, and purer preparation, of the palm oil.

“Besides reading, writing, and arithmetic, the Gabonese

here practise music also, for which they have much talent ; but above all, instruction is imparted to them in handicrafts, according to their personal choice and ability. There are shoemakers and tailors, joiners and carpenters, smiths and engineers, even a watchmaker has been trained among them. Still the plantations of the institution form the most important feature of the educational methods.

“Almost all the useful products of tropical and temperate climates, such as costly fruits and vegetable medicines, have been experimentally planted there, and generally with favourable results. Particularly large coffee plantations, though planted in a most unfavourable soil, give quite extraordinary returns. These are now very convenient for the mission, as they contribute more and more to defraying the considerable expenses of the establishment. But of far greater importance is the result thereby attained for the whole country ; as these plantations have for the last twenty years been cultivated entirely by the pupils of the mission. They are thus at least habituated for a long time to regular work ; and although the taste of the Mpongoues is naturally more for trade than agriculture, yet in the case of many of them it is to be observed that even in their commerce they have attained to some conception of what a European man of business expects of them, and what sort of work is most lastingly profitable to them.

“One often hears the missions on the African coasts blamed and held responsible for the misuse which their earlier pupils have made in later life of what they learned in the missions. Indeed, among the lower class of

European traders the view is universally prevalent that all the missions there do more harm than good. The folly of such a view is so palpable that it can hardly be thought necessary to advert to it, since it is entertained by scarcely any intelligent merchants. Certainly it is not to be denied that often many, and sometimes all, the results of the moral influences to which the pupils were subjected in the missions have been lost as soon as they have intermarried with their uneducated countrywomen, or in other ways have been brought into association with the circles that stand apart from the missions or are hostile to them.

“It is, further, an indisputable truth, that, while it is advisable to distrust the negroes of so cunning a tribe as the Mpongoues in every transaction, this is still more necessary with respect to those who have attained a certain measure of education in the missions, and have thereby still more developed their intellectual capacities. But least of all are the merchants justified in giving currency to this reproach, since not only is it to them that the greatest and directest advantage accrues from all missions, but also because, while no one in the world is to be held wholly answerable for the evil referred to, the trading Europeans in that country are most responsible for it.”

In a very entertaining book—*A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa*—an intelligent and finely observant Englishwoman, Lady Barker, the wife of an English-Government Official in Natal, describes a visit to the mission station of Edendale, the substance of which we quote as the conclusion of our notices of the material

civilization produced by the mission ; at once on account of the vividness with which it is related, and also on account of its applicability to a hundred other mission stations. For this does not relate to a particularly noted station. Even to many who are fairly acquainted with mission history, Edendale may scarcely be known even by name. Even in the Reports of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, to whom the station belongs, not much is said of it. Thus the Annual Report for 1878 only mentions that here the missionary, Mr. Eva, is labouring with a native catechist and two schoolmasters, that the church consists of 292 communicants and 64 candidates for baptism, that 83 children attend the two day-schools and 137 the two Sabbath-schools, and 1220 adults the public worship. It is then added : "At this important head station our work is not extending as we could wish, because some of the most faithful members of the church have been removed." With these dry notices let any one compare the lively account of the thoroughly objective lady-observer, who saw and described things of which the missionaries as usual give us either the most meagre account, or none at all, and he will "get the impression"—as the *Evangelical Missionary Magazine* (1879, p. 203) remarks very pointedly—"that the missionaries do not overstate their achievements, or seek to idealise their converts. On the contrary, it seems to confirm what a well-informed man has said of the Indian missionaries, that they are rather disposed to under-estimate than to over-estimate their work."

Let us now let the lady tell her own story :—"The great want in every landscape in this country is trees,

but the settlement which we are to visit is completely surrounded by them. There is something unspeakably home-like in this. The adjacent fields of tall, green, sugar-cane-like maize-plants, give the impression of luxuriant fertility. The still air bore to us the shrill voices of children and women, who were laughingly conversing in the streets on either hand, mingled with the deeper tones of men talking in as lively a fashion; and as we emerged from the shade of the trees on the broad village street, we saw the talkers and were greeted by them. Before the houses sit tidy, comfortable-looking men and women, the former busy plaiting with their lithe fingers neat baskets and mats of reeds and rushes; the latter eating Kaffir-corn, or shelling it and preparing it for the market. Everywhere Kaffir-corn and children! Fat black babies were rolling with delight in the dust, or gnawing boiled maize-cobs. . . . The inhabitants of Edendale do not live in Kaffir-huts, but in neat-looking little houses of brick, all exactly like one another. They have yellow or red painted doors, and are half-covered with creeping plants. Whoever doubts whether the natives can be civilized, should visit this or similar stations, to be convinced how easily the Kaffir adopts comfortable usages and customs, and how well pleased he is to live in honourable and orderly fashion with his neighbours. Edendale is a mission-station of the Wesleyans, and the history of the settlement is extremely interesting—interesting because it is neither the result of a costly organisation, nor of an artificial system of conversion, but is the special work of a single man, and a proof that the natives can appreciate the blessings of

association and civilization. Therefore I feel myself constrained to bear testimony to the immense amount of energy and sound practical knowledge of mankind which the missionaries of the Wesleyans and Baptists bring to bear upon the improvement and profit of the black masses all over the world. I am myself a steadfast adherent of the Established Church, and am second to none in love and reverence for my own form of worship; but I do not see that that should hinder me from acknowledging facts which have impressed themselves upon me since my childhood."

The far-travelled lady then pictures, from her own observation, the simple mission appliances of the dissenters in Jamaica and in the Himalaya valleys, in contrast with the artificial system of the Episcopal Church, and then continues: "Edendale had doubtless just such a humble beginning; but as I saw it on that fair, mild, autumn day, it was difficult to conceive of the place in that undeveloped condition. To our right rose a neat brick chapel, which was exceedingly pretty after its sort, the inside furnished and adorned with clean seats and pretty wood-work. The simple building cost more than 20,000 marks; but almost every penny was contributed by the Kaffirs, who twenty-five years ago had probably never seen a brick or a seat, and were in every respect savages." After expatiating on the other preaching stations, the schools, the founding of the station, &c., the narrator goes on: "As I looked over the fertile fields with their luxuriant harvest, and into the enclosed garden-plots in which a superabundance of vegetables was growing, I could scarcely realise that these fields and gardens were, a comparatively short

time ago, uncultivated land. . . . At every few steps you came upon a little canal, made with a spade in a few minutes, which conveys a clear stream of water down from the hill to garden and house. . . . The people have done all with their own hands, and last year they contributed more than 4000 marks for the payment of their minister. I confess that I felt my heart greatly drawn towards this pious-minded, hard-working, little community. . . . At the special and urgent request of the owners I went into one of the houses. You have no conception how cleanly and orderly it looked in every respect, and how readily the Kaffir adorns his dwelling. Indeed, he carries it rather too far.

“I am no political economist, and indeed the combination of the words frightens me; but I cannot help remarking that we are leaving unused the good material which lies ready to our hand. When one comes here, it is told him as something terrible that there are in Natal 300,000 Kaffirs and only 17,000 whites. The observation is commonly added, that we can only look to immigration for the salvation of the country. I cannot help thinking that this is not what we want, at all events, not of such whites as are commonly designated as the lower classes. . . . Could we get a small number of teachers, and accomplished, clever tradesmen, to co-operate with the missionaries, who are spread over the whole country, and have already quietly done an infinite amount of good, in establishing art-schools; in this way we should more and more be enabled to utilise the material which we possess in the Kaffirs. We must

find ways and means to bring the Kaffirs into the great brotherhood of civilization. They are a clever, good-humoured, and easily-governed people. Their great defect is laziness; but in Edendale I heard no complaint, and saw no sign of it."

We see that the modern mission is doing, in respect of material culture, for the heathen nations of the present day, the very same, and indeed greater services than those which the medieval mission confessedly accomplished for the peoples of Northern and North-Eastern Europe. But now through all these services she is putting in motion a culture-factor, with which the culture-development of mankind is quite essentially connected:—viz., LABOUR. There no doubt has been, and is now, labour outside of Christianity. The Gospel was not the first introducer of labour into the world, but it has ennobled it. The peoples of antiquity also laboured; but all labours which required physical strength were regarded as humiliating to freemen. This sort of labour was utterly destitute of its moral value—a defect which was very closely connected with the slavery of antiquity. It was Christianity that first gave to labour its moral foundation, honour, and sacredness. We appeal in proof of this assertion to Dr. Uhlhorn's eloquent discourse, *Labour viewed in the light of the Gospel*, where the subject is treated, argumentatively and historically, in a manner as profound and convincing as it is simple and intelligible. With the heathen nations of the present day it is as with the peoples of antiquity—labour has no moral estimate put upon it. These peoples may be divided into labouring and non-labouring classes.

The former class includes the Chinese, the Japanese, and, with great limitations, the Hindus; the latter comprehends almost all the nature-peoples. A certain blessing of nature rests upon a labouring people, and a certain curse of nature upon a non-labouring. Yet even in relation to the former, Christianity has a great task assigned it. It must be the moral regenerator of labour wherever it is, and its moral founder wherever it is not. That it is the former, we shall find repeated opportunities of pointing out in the course of our inquiry; that it is the latter, the course of our argument thus far has already made good by many examples. The mission is the most triumphant weapon in the war against the laziness of the nature-peoples.

Let us for once adduce a testimony from the Romanist camp. Father Horner, whose missionary exertions in East Africa have become more widely known through the report of Sir Bartle Frere, thus writes: "Having for more than twenty years been occupied with the regeneration of the blacks, I have had recourse to the only means of raising them from the deep degradation of centuries, viz., *Labour consecrated by Christianity*. With this view I have established schools for agriculture and handicrafts at Bagamoyo. I am convinced that the result of the African mission will in great part depend upon the respect and love of labour, wherewith it inspires the blacks, to whom it proclaims the Gospel. Every one knows that the natural listlessness and laziness of the negro is the greatest hindrance to his moral elevation. We can gradually subdue his vices, when, in connection with the principles of Christianity, we associate the

love of labour! Yes! Herein lies the secret of civilizing."

Notwithstanding these principles, equally acted on by the Evangelical Mission, and illustrated by Bishop Crowther as far back as 1870, the reproach has often been cast upon it that, by the liberality which it practises, it rather encourages than corrects laziness, and that in many instances it is the expectation of a comfortable provision, and worldly advantages of all sorts, that allures the people to become Christians. In particular: at one time after the fashion of the *Gartenlaube*, the accusation is brought forward that the mission plunders the natives to the extent of impoverishing them: she "shears the heathen sheep." At another time the accusation runs after the manner of *Langhans*, that she carries her beneficence to excess and makes only "Rice-Christians." In the blind zeal with which the mission is assailed it is not perceived that the one accusation neutralises the other. One is strongly reminded of a certain judicial trial which took place 1850 years ago, in the case of a noted Israelitish prophet, whose death-sentence was a foregone conclusion, and of which the old record only states: "But the high-priests and the elders and the whole council sought witness against Jesus to put Him to death; but their witness agreed not together" (Mark xiv. 55). Assuredly the mission practises beneficence; and one would suppose that thereby it would earn the commendation of those who belaud the parable of the Good Samaritan as the special marrow of the whole of Christianity. On other occasions it is a favourite charge against the believers in the Bible that a priest and Levite

passed by the man who needed help. Now in the mission the priest and Levite do *not* pass by. Well! this also must be matter of accusation against him, that he helps! No doubt it happens to the missionaries, just as it does to other people in the civilized world, that their beneficence is abused, and that idlers now and again take advantage of it. More than this: sometimes the compassion of a mission-agent is greater than is consistent with discretion, when, *e.g.*, the young converts are driven from their caste, robbed of their property and their previous means of support, and know not how they are to live; or, when a common calamity occurs, such as a drought and famine, an epidemic or a war; or, when the poverty of the people and their inability to help themselves are overwhelming—the missionaries have often practised a perhaps mistaken beneficence, so that they have shared the last of their possessions with the destitute Christians and heathens. In this way they have got the repute of being rich people and helpers in all necessities. But of this repute, after all, they have not much to be ashamed. To the Saviour also many people came, seeking help in their temporal necessity, and by reason of the confidence they had in Him, He did not reject them. Suppose there be much abuse, yea much hypocrisy underlying all this, and suppose that before the judgment-seat of cold, intellectual estimation the support afforded would be condemned—yet the mission secures this great gain, that the natives recognise the missionaries as men in whom they have confidence, and who deign to treat them as friends;¹¹ and this recognition is indirectly a cultural gain, for men in whom confidence is

placed win and exert influence, and the missionaries employ this influence for the elevation of the natives. When, for example, in Tinnevely and the Telugu country, nearly 60,000 heathen last year applied for baptism, chiefly induced thereto by the Christian charity put forth during the preceding terrible famine, which made a great impression on their hearts; no doubt there might be much chaff among the heaps, and it might appear manifest that their embracing of Christianity was induced by an outward advantage which they had enjoyed. But a little patience, and it will soon be shown that the benefits experienced do not make the people idle but industrious. That must have taken place already, for in a short time the new Christians have to build churches and schools, and to support their native teachers and pastors—a duty which, according to the latest accounts, they are already beginning actually to discharge. That the Missionary Societies cannot support such multitudes must be clear to every understanding. They must be trained to labour.

Even apart from the duty of self-support, which the mission uniformly inculcates upon the natives as soon as possible, it is, with all its practice of beneficence, an enemy of sloth and a teacher of labour. Wherever it comes it establishes the old ordinance of God, “SIX DAYS SHALT THOU LABOUR,” designates, with the apostle of the Gentiles, idleness as “disorderly walking,” and declares, “He who will not work, neither shall he eat.” It is by no means unconditionally necessary that agricultural schools and industrial workshops be established everywhere. Wherever a sound Christianity is planted, there

work spontaneously grows ; it necessarily presents itself as a moral duty. If this now and then does not happen, the fault is not chargeable on the mission, but upon the relations which she is unable to control, or perhaps on the individual missionaries ; and it is not fair to hold the mission responsible for the faults and failings of individual mission-agents, or for the hindrances which she has not caused. As in all professions, so also among missionaries, there are some who are not up to their calling ; but it is a disingenuous fallacy by generalising to represent special exceptions as the common rule. We are not so blind as not to see the deficiencies which attach to our mission work ; but we have also a right to repel unjust reproaches.

To the class of these unjust reproaches belongs also this, that magical effects are expected of the mission, and she is condemned when she does not work miracles in the twinkling of an eye. But not only in the department of the religious life, but in that of the cultural life as well, the results of the mission are subject to the law of gradual development. It proceeds not by bounds, but by steps and degrees, and not in straight, but in curved and zigzag lines. That is nature's law, and only then is a development sound, when it is accomplished in accordance with this law. Otherwise it is unnatural—a house built on the sand. It is a misfortune when we—as is happening, alas ! in our home relations of late—forsake in the mission this way of slow, solid development, and cannot wait till the seed sown ripens naturally and gradually to the harvest. As in our own Fatherland there needed a development of more than a thousand

years before we reached our present height of culture, so among those peoples who now form the object of our missionary operations, we ought not to expect that they should reach the same stage in a couple of decades. It were an injury to these peoples were we systematically to aim at this. It would produce—as the second part of our inquiry will show us—caricatures of culture; yea—what is far worse—it would lead to lassitude and death.

While the truth of this remark in general must be acknowledged, it is specially applicable to training to labour. Laziness is a fault of the people rooted by the habits of centuries, and privileged by national customs; and it is simply impossible to overcome it in one or two generations, especially when we consider how great additional difficulties are caused by climatic conditions. Laziness is an absolutely colossal natural power, to whose merely relative conquest among a people centuries are required. Indeed, many ethnologists, as is well known, entertain the view that it can never be overcome, and thence that all the efforts which the mission puts forth are in vain. If the so-called nature-peoples are to be brought to labour, they say that there is no other means than external constraint, so that, from the politico-economical point of view, slavery is completely justified.¹² For the supposed inefficacy of the efforts made on the part of the mission, apart from South Africa, dependence is put upon the small cultural results in Sierra Leone and Liberia, the West Indies, and the United States of North America.

Let us, in the first place, look at the two West

African Negro States just mentioned. We have no intention to paint in fair colours the cultural relations in these States, especially in Liberia; while we must energetically protest against the meaningless, exaggerated pictures of noted enemies of the mission, such as a certain Mr. Reade, in his notorious book *Savage Africa*, or the *Globus* and *Ausland*. Dr. Grundemann, in his edition of Burkhardt's *Little Mission Library*, has set forth the dark side in the cultural conditions of these States with great sobriety and perfect impartiality, and we adopt substantially his representations. There are in Liberia, far more than in Sierra Leone, caricatures of culture in abundance, but very little of solid culture. Here and there we find the most luxurious comfort, but among the great mass much laziness, uncleanness, immodesty and immorality. Trade is considerably developed in some directions, and in handicrafts comparatively good results have been attained; but, on the other hand, agriculture is still little attended to, although of late it has been stated with thankfulness that Liberia is now devoting herself with greater energy to husbandry, and especially to coffee-planting. Thus, in respect of their cultural results, and especially in respect of the laboriousness of their inhabitants, Sierra Leone and Liberia are by no means brilliant specks of light in the midst of the darkness of Africa, as they have often been represented by enthusiastic friends of missions. But any one who should hold the missions exclusively, or even mainly, answerable for this, would certainly give no brilliant proof of his knowledge of the circumstances of these countries. It is well known that

neither Sierra Leone nor Liberia forms a natural state-union, depending upon national community. In the former there are those rescued from the hands of the slave-traders, in the latter negro-slaves transported from America, with whom a sort of experiment in colonisation has been made. These people had scarcely aught in common, except their black colour. In Sierra Leone, amongst the negroes who belonged to the most various tribes of the interior, there prevailed a Babel-like confusion of tongues, into which some unity could be introduced only by the endeavour to naturalise English as the language of the country. This engrafted language of necessity led to absurdities and to caricatures of culture. To Liberia, indeed, the black settlers brought the English language with them from America. But the oneness of language was not sufficient to produce amalgamation among multitudes of men who were wholly strangers to each other. To this was added, that, on the ground of a quite ignorant philanthropic liberalism, negroes who were in no way trained and ripe for independence, were far too much in Liberia, and altogether in Sierra Leone, left to themselves, instead of being placed under the educating influence of a benevolent but strict government, and of energetically administered laws. Thus the whole foundation of these settlements was unsoundly laid at the beginning, and it was in the nature of things that their development should be unsound, and should disappoint the high expectations which were formed regarding them. Finally, let it be considered that by continuous contact with advanced Western culture, which produces a blinding impression on the poor

negroes, and excites them to childish aping, the relations would become even more unsound and perverted; and every intelligent man will understand that the mission here stood face to face with special difficulties, for whose overthrow her strength was glaringly disproportioned. We are far from acquitting her representatives of all blame for the small amount of solid cultural results hitherto attained in these negro states. Many missionaries have even been, and still are, under the crippling influence of the liberal doctrine which would foolishly transfer immediately to uncivilized hordes the cultural and constitutional relations of the civilized world, and thereby mar their independent action and the development of a sound culture, because it does not put limitations upon freedom, and does not employ sufficiently energetic discipline.

But liberalism, which commits similar mistakes at home, has no right to throw stones at the missionaries on this account; rather should it in this exhibition of mock-culture perceive that it is no master in cultural education, and should condemn very leniently when now and again its own blunder is reproduced in the mission-field. All these circumstances being taken into account, we must be content with small and but moderately solid cultural results; and may well vindicate the mission, when, on the ground of the partly unsatisfactory experiences in the Christianised negro states in question, a general charge is brought that it is inefficient in implanting a taste for labour. We are all the more entitled to do this, as unquestionably Sierra Leone at least has become a blessing to the West Coast of Africa,

since from it have been founded hopeful mission-churches in Lagos, Abbeokuta, and on the Niger.

Neither can we allow the appeal to the West Indies to pass as an instance unfavourable to the cultural influence of the mission. Here slavery has been the paralysing factor, and it needs no proof that under its degrading influences a training to independence and independent action was a matter of impossibility. Certainly, the negro slaves laboured; but they did it as beasts of burden under the constraint of the driver's lash. No mention of a moral estimate of labour could be even intelligible under this yoke; not even when comparatively patriarchal circumstances prevailed. The mission has truly done for the West Indian slaves what she could; and considering the most unfavourable conditions under which she wrought, and the hostile counter-agitations which were set a-going on the part of many slave-owners, she has effected all that was possible in respect of the church and religious life. That she has effected little for the culture-life no intelligent man can blame her; for that it is slavery that is responsible, which, even in its mildest form, treats men as chattels and as beasts of burden.

Thus it was quite comprehensible that when emancipation came, the slaves who were set free wholesale and entirely, proved to be indolent and unreliable workers. They must have learned, while under the yoke of slavery, to regard labour as a matter of constraint, and it was a perfectly natural law of reaction, that, when the constraint ceased, laziness broke out again as an inward, unsubdued principle. It is uncontestedly true that the abolition of slavery has been,

from a politico-economical point of view, a great misfortune both for the West Indies and for the Southern States of the American Union. It is just as true that the wholesale and entire emancipation of the slaves has not hitherto been any considerable cultural advantage. But it is not true that the mission bears the real blame of this *fiasco*. Certainly she is a sharer of the blame, in so far as she in her energetic agitation for the abolition of slavery, was deficient in wisdom respecting the necessary education—a charge, however, which is essentially palliated by the consideration that the slave-owners strenuously opposed all training of this sort. The misfortune was that, under the influence of the liberal doctrine, freedom was given to the slaves, without their being previously trained to the wholesome use of freedom. The emancipation had to be gone through with. It was a moral-religious necessity, and a stigma lay upon Christendom so long as the heathenish institution of slavery was tolerated in her midst. But then abuses which have existed for centuries cannot be suddenly removed from the world, without the production of injuries which are often greater than the evils which are to be got rid of. Without the preliminary training for freedom, even freedom is a fatal gift. It is a fundamental error of the liberal doctrine that it ignores the simple natural law of a progressive development, that it lacks patience, and lavishly bestows freedom while there is not a ripeness to use it. An Act of Parliament could abolish slavery; but no Act could teach men who had never known a free, independent life, all at once to use the freedom which was bestowed.

But let us be reasonable. It is so, alas ! in this sinful world, that evils which, like a disease, are transmitted from generation to generation, are generally got rid of, not in the way of sound, prudent reformation, but in that of sudden and violent revolution. We may call this a fatality, and we may lament the fatality ; but it is a fact, of which the chief blame lies at the door of a blind egoistic conservatism, which obdurately opposes the removal of real evils. But while the sudden abolition of slavery is in some degree justified in the light of this truth, there must also be allowed to be palliations for the reverses which are its necessary consequences. The mission was never in a position to charm into regular, quiet labour, the negroes who had been brought out of fetters and bonds. Neither in the West Indies nor in the Southern States of North America did she fail to put forth the most laborious efforts. The "Jubilee singers," who first visited our fatherland last year, have given us a palpable proof of this. Assuredly in no other quarter has so much been done, and is being done, towards the education and national improvement of the emancipated slaves as on the part of the Christian mission. But while she has not been able satisfactorily to accomplish a task which, in reality through the fault of others, has become a gigantic one, it is all the more unfair to reproach her on this account, because her accusers do not touch the task with one of their fingers. .

Also in respect of the North American Indians, no fault attaches to the mission that it has not succeeded in moving them to a greater extent to the undertaking of cultural labour. It is the egoistic civilization that

has prevented extensive cultural results among the Indians. It is notoriously the black history full of falsehood and treachery, full of perjury and violence, full of robbery and murder, which has made the intercourse of the white settlers with the red natives an almost unbroken course of bloodshed. How could works of peace grow from such a sowing of blood? A strong tree has, in name of civilization, been cut off from its roots, how could the rootless and constantly transplanted tree bear fruit? Even here, in the most self-denying and most enduring love, the mission has done what she could; but almost always when she has begun in abodes of peace to teach the Indians the works of culture, civilisation, greedy of land and gold, has put in operation her scandalous work of destruction.

Besides, had the red man been gradually won to cultural work, the unchristian conduct of his oppressors with their civilization would not have disgusted him with their religion. But now it is only among fragments of the oppressed people that it has been possible to overcome this intelligible hatred against the cultural efforts of the white man, and assuredly it is the mission that has gained this victory. Of the 266,000 Indians, who are still in the territory of the United States, the mission has gathered together, in 171 churches, 27,215 as full church members of various denominations, which will represent about 80,000 Christian Indians in all. A survey of these communities of Christian Indians, and a comparison of them with their countrymen who are still heathen, afford the most convincing proof of the cultural power of the mission, even over a human material

rendered so unfavourable by the grievous faults of the representatives of a heartless civilization. Assuredly we owe it to the energetic agitation of the mission and its friends that President Grant introduced a more humane Indian policy, according to which the nomination of Indian agents was virtually handed over to the various religious corporations which support Indian missions; and that the present President declared: "Many, if not most, of our Indian wars have had their origin in broken promises and wrongs inflicted by us; and the progress of the Indian has been slow, because the treatment which has been awarded to him has not admitted of more rapid and more general progress. We cannot expect that they should improve when we do not keep our word with them to respect the rights which they possess, and when we do not hold out to them a helping hand, but rather tread them down." According to official data, in consequence of the Indian policy of Grant, which is favourable to missions, between the years 1868 and 1876, the houses of Indians had increased in number from 7476 to 55,717, the cultivated acres from 54,207 to 318,194, their cattle from 42,874 to 811,308 head. We do not, indeed, put unconditional confidence in these American official statistics. The houses may have been built, and the cattle may have been bought; but whether Indians inhabit the houses and altogether maintain the cattle, is by no means beyond doubt, considering the well-known tactics of the agents, who have very large pockets for the Indians' money; for, alas! it has not been possible in all cases to appoint thoroughly Christian men as agents. Only

where the mission-churches were able to take charge of the Indians has the new policy been really a blessing. So far it has in every case been put beyond doubt, that cultural effects are achieved among the Indians, in proportion as they are treated on Christian principles. A few examples will suffice.

In the course of last year Mr. Good, a missionary of the Propagation Society, who is stationed at Lytton in Columbia, received a communication from Mr. Sprout, the Under-Secretary for Indian Affairs in Canada and British Columbia, in which, amongst other things, it is said, "I cannot leave Lytton without expressing to you my sincere acknowledgment of the remarkable effects of your mission-work among the Indians of this district. It has given me great pleasure to have stayed among these Indians, and to have seen with my own eyes the good conduct, the self-respect, the promptings, I might almost say the aspirations, of their awakened nature after a civilized life. Only those who know the uncivilized life from their own observation can estimate the change which has been effected here. Mr. G. Blenkinsop, the secretary of this commission, who possesses the most accurate knowledge of the Indians of this province, directed my attention to the excellent condition of the people of this place, and daily intercourse with them has furnished me with proof of the perfect accuracy of his representation."

The agent of the Episcopal mission, which is most energetic among the Indians, and which maintains altogether 52 labourers among them, especially among the Oneidas, Sioux, Chippewas, Dakotas, and Schoshons,

furnishes the following official report for the present year: "Under the oversight of the engineer-agents, the following industrial works have been executed entirely by Indians—a steam-power corn and saw-mill, a turning-lathe, an iron and wood planing-machine, a water-mill, a tinsmith's shop, a carpenter's shop, a smithy, a slaughter-house, a warehouse. Under the direction of the agricultural agents, agricultural works of all sorts have been carried on. Indians who as lately as three years ago strutted in ragged blankets, adorned with feathers and all sorts of frippery, now wear decent clothing, follow the plough, and cut grass and corn with the reaper and mower."

The examples adduced by Waitz, on the ground of which he expressly declares that "for the advances which the Indians have made, we have mainly to thank the mission," we pass over, in order to give a testimony of the latest date by Gerland. In a series of very important, profound, and thoughtful articles—as are all the articles of this investigator—Gerland unfolds the result of his latest studies on *The Future of the Indians of North America*—a work to which we shall revert further on. We give but one of many facts which it contains. "The Tuscurora, formerly a most warlike tribe, are now Christians and civilized. Their chiefs built the first school-house in 1831. It seems to be partly owing to their circumstances that they are more independent than the other Indians of the agency. They get no money-subsidy, but only grants of useful articles, to the value of 90 cents a-head. They are a temperate, industrious, active population of cultivators, and their lands, products,

and implements are not inferior to those of their white neighbours. The Oneida and the St. Regis Indians are entitled to equal commendation. Although other tribes in other Reservations do not stand so high, though all these Indians receive State-Subsidies—the Seneca, *e.g.* on four Reservations receive 11,902 dollars—though even here much remains to be done for the future—and among what culture-people is this not so?—yet we can close our observations on the Iroquese authoritatively and confidently with the assertion that the Iroquese are not being exterminated by civilization, that they have not died out and will not die out before its breath, but that in the future they will increase and develop more and more. Their history is an absolute refutation of the theory of the dying-out of the nature-peoples.”

From the mouth of an eye-witness, Dr. Grundemann, we have the following information regarding the Seneca Reservation at Cattaraugus in the State of New York, which corresponds perfectly with the statements published by Gerland in the article already referred to:—“While those remnants of the Indians of this state, who have not become attached to the mission, are perishing in most hopeless starvation, mostly beggarly figures without a home, or else mountebanks exhibiting themselves in an imitation of the old Indian ornaments, the Indians on this Reservation have become settled people and cultivators, who practise a more rational husbandry than many farmers, and enjoy a proportionate success. One of these Indians harvested 600 bushels of corn in one year. A regularly arranged agricultural and cattle exhibition contributes to the stimulation of their zeal.

Ten years ago the 1500 heathens, or thereabout, who lived on the Reservation, did not fall far behind the somewhat more numerous Christians in their cultural labour. But had the tribe not attached itself to the mission, and the part that remained heathen to their Christian relatives, the whole of them would have come to grief, as so many of their people have." A still more striking instance is furnished by the Indian Colony of Metlakatlah, founded by Mr. Duncan, which has been already mentioned more than once. Concerning it the Governor-General, Lord Dufferin, after seeing it with his own eyes, made the following statement, among others, in his official report: "I have visited the wonderful settlement of Mr. Duncan at Metlakatlah, and the interesting mission at Fort Simpson, and am thus in a position to prove by facts that a scene of peace and innocence, of idyllic charm and material comfort, can be presented by the energetic men and women of an Indian community, when it is under the wise superintendence of an intelligent and pious missionary. . . . We want not so much costly appliances, as a number of men who understand how to develop and use in the right way the means which we possess. Bring your Indians to the position to which Mr. Duncan has taught us to raise them, and you will have added to their actual power an important contribution of real life-force." Since then the principles according to which Mr. Duncan proceeded in the instruction of his Indian church, as has been already remarked, have been accepted by Act of Parliament and Decrees of Government for the whole Canadian Federation. Thus has the humble missionary done an

extremely important cultural service to the more than 100,000 Indians of British North America, whose full importance the future will disclose.

So far we see that among the culture-factors it is really the mission that succeeds in civilizing the nature-peoples. The professed representatives of material interests, traders and colonists, from whom we might have expected influences of at least external civilization, have after all brought little solid cultural gain to the savage peoples. For proof of this assertion a glance at North America, South Africa, and the South Seas is enough. The aborigines of these vast regions are not civilized by the European civilization, but have simply been ruined, and are continuously being ruined, even materially. The civilization lacks the compassionate heart, which stretches out the helping hand to the poor natives, and the constraining motive which would invite them to a change of their former mode of living. The representatives of the material interest do not come to the natives to help them, but to enrich themselves. Therefore they regard the natives as either their servants or their enemies. Thus in reality they have no interest in their true civilization. But suppose they had such an interest, they have not the power to exert a deep-penetrating civilizing influence. "Spread out before a savage all the advantages of civilization," said the black evangelist, Taylor, of Senegambia, at the last annual festival of the Paris Missionary Society, "and he can fairly answer you that from his point of view he is as happy as you—perhaps more so. Why he should eat with knife and fork, why he should wear shoes and stockings, he cannot see. It

is a matter of taste. He feels no necessity to follow the behests of civilization to the sacrifice of his natural inclinations, in order to seek a happiness which *you* find therein. But lead him to the foot of Christ's cross, and all is changed. There you meet a deeply felt craving of his heart; there you bring to him the most powerful incentives to virtue, to holiness, to the slaying of the lusts of the flesh. Thence the essence of civilization has entered his heart."

This testimony is confirmed by the judgment of a man who, by forty years' labour in the South Sea Islands, has established the right to be reckoned among competent witnesses. "There is a certain class of men," says the missionary Murray, "who dispute the indirect results of the mission, on the ground that the missionaries one-sidedly pursue only religious aims. These are the same people who are wholly without sympathy with the special aim of mission-work, and regard everything under the point of view of profit for the earthly life. Nevertheless they show themselves to be very little acquainted with the actual mission-work. Of course we freely confess that our time and strength are mainly devoted to the special work of evangelization; that the Bible is the chief subject of our instruction; and that, so far as we take subordinate things in charge, these must always stand in a certain relation to the spiritual life. And as the result of a long experience we have no doubt that the way in which we have hitherto proceeded with reference to the latter point, is wholly the right way. Even material culture, to our great satisfaction, is best promoted by missionaries who confine themselves most

rigidly to the evangelization work which is committed to them. No outward advances which are to be durable can be prematurely and without preparation forced upon a people. They must have a deeper and a firmer foundation than the authority of a chief or the influence of a missionary. The people must be elevated mentally, morally, and religiously ;—so elevated that they shall really feel the wants which awaken a longing after the attractions and demands of the civilized life. The inner and the outer must go hand in hand, otherwise a reaction necessarily follows." Hence it has hitherto been labour in vain to civilize nature-peoples, without at the same time christianising them. At the best, caricatures, as they are exhibited in abundance on the colonial field, are in this way produced.

In view of this fact people are perhaps sufficiently magnanimous to hand over the civilization of the nature-peoples to the mission, as people in certain circles at home are not disinclined to acknowledge Christianity expressly as beneficial for the lower classes. Among the civilized heathen peoples, on the other hand, it is asserted that the missions, at least the pietistic ones, prove inefficient, and are in no wise a cultural element.¹³ What shall we say to this? We appeal again to a fact—viz., that the distinctively classical culture-peoples of antiquity formed the object of the first Christian mission. There is, if we may so speak, a godly irony in the world's history, and it seems to us that it is most humiliating for natural men, who are so proud of their knowledge and their power, that the classic culture-world behaved to be handed over to the contemned preaching of the

Cross, as a remedy for the deep sores which were consuming it. Even the fullest material and intellectual culture cannot arrest the process of corruption into which a people rushes when this culture lacks an enlivening religious-moral foundation and the sanctifying Spirit of God. We are sending even now missionaries to the Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese, not indeed with the immediate object of promoting the external civilization of the civilized heathen peoples, but to fill them with a new spirit, and awaken them to a new life. This new spirit necessarily effects a transformation and an advancement upon the previous culture-life. We do not deny that for these heathen peoples of the present day, whom we are accustomed to designate as the culture-peoples, the intimate contact with the Christian culture-peoples, such as is produced by commerce and colonial policy, forms a new cultural epoch. But for one that looks deeper, it is beyond question that this new cultural epoch must prove not a development upwards, but downwards, if it is not accompanied by an inner regeneration. A few years ago, blind Yamamoto, one of the wisest and most patriotic men in Japan, said to an American missionary: "I like your railroads, telegraphs, steam-ships, and all your wonderful machines. I rejoice that your science is taught in our schools. I long for the day when your humane laws shall be introduced into all our country. But Japan needs more than all these things. The hearts of the people must be changed. Buddhism is a parcel of lies, and the doctrine of Confucius, admirable as it is in many respects, falls altogether short of this. I

believe that Protestant Christianity alone has the power to change the hearts of the people." That is the one thing needful. Although our civilization actually brings railways and telegraphs, rifled cannon and breech-loaders, domestic comfort, and even science, to the nations of the East, not it, but only the Gospel of Christianity, can give them the new heart which they need for their regeneration. But in order to the introduction of a new cultural epoch, there needs a new creative spirit; and this spirit the mere conveyance of our civilization cannot impart. The heathen culture-peoples can externally appropriate many of our cultural acquisitions; they may even copy them; but in truth there results no vital cultural gain to them from this.

Let us now look somewhat more closely at the culture which these peoples possess. We fear it is by no means so brilliant as it seems to be assumed by many to be. China is undoubtedly entitled to the precedence. It must be unreservedly confessed that extraordinary laboriousness, energy, perseverance, dexterity, are virtues characteristic of Chinese civilization, and that they especially excel in agricultural work, and handicraft, and even in art-work. Only it is so, as a visitor of the Paris World-Exhibition lately said: "With beautiful and cleverly wrought material, there was an absence of thought, mind, creative genius, the world of the ideal; and while the peoples of the East are strangers to that world, they are destitute also of the science which brings natural materials and human talents into right harmony, which, with the magician's rod of intellect, unbinds the forces and powers of nature, and makes them the slaves of mankind. It

is the industry which effloresces from this that constitutes what in the higher sense is called culture ; and this industry, which is a triumph of modern science, belongs peculiarly and alone to the Christian peoples. These comparatively young peoples have far outstripped the old culture-peoples in virtue of the new spirit." In his important book, which has been already referred to, *Culture and Religion*, Delff has amply illustrated the same thought in what we regard as a masterly way: "The Chinese," he says, "are a civilized people, but not a culture-people ; they have refinement, but they are not inwardly refined. Their culture has only the appearance and the show of culture, inasmuch as it lends a certain external smoothness and harmony to the outward forms of social movements. It works in these relations not as an inner life-principle, but only regulates them from without, by means of custom and routine ; it works mechanically, and in it society is not a self-moving organism, developing and displaying itself according to its own real proportion, but only a mechanism, which accomplishes its movements with the blindness of instinct, and in whose parts the inner proportions are in no wise spontaneous life-forces. China has a special importance for the philosophy of history, because we learn from it to distinguish and separate civilization and culture." Delff convincingly traces back this merely mechanical and material culture to the naturalistic religion and moral of the Chinese, which itself "bears a wholly external, mechanical, and preponderatingly negative, passive character. It attends less to refinement of thought than to outward propriety ; it only requires an outward compli-

ance and acquiescence, and it is not a personal power, but a habit of life." But so it is, as is self-evident, that a new, really inward, spontaneous advance in culture induced by creative thoughts—and not a mechanical seeming culture—is possible only when a new principle of spirit and life is introduced into the development. But this new principle of spirit and life can be naught else than the evangelical Christianity. The Evangelical Mission has been too short a time at work in China, and amidst the mountains of difficulties which stand in opposition to it, has still proportionately too small results, to admit of the visible exhibition of a cultural working of the sort indicated. But it is beyond doubt that in a few generations it will appear. "Superstition," writes the sober Chinese missionary, Faber, "is the main hindrance of the progress of Western civilization in China. For example, the aversion to the settlement of foreigners in the land, to steamships and railways, has its chief foundation in the ridiculous *wind and water doctrine*. All of them are in opposition to the old endeared customs, the national pride, or even to peculiar scientific theories. How else can a mutual understanding and recognition be reached, than by laborious instruction?"

"The missionaries are the fittest persons for this, because they can speak the language of the country. They are the gauges of the force of the steam which is boiling in the cauldron. It were presumption to withdraw the indicators. Instead of wasting gall and paper in calumnious and heartless tirades against the missionaries, it were better to do all that can be done to help them in their difficult work.

In Japan, an enlightened ruler has already opened

the land to the Christian culture of the west, so that it is pouring into it like a stream. But the scene which this cultural revolution presents to us is not wholly pleasant. Apart altogether from the many elements which are undermining all faith and all morality, and which are floated on the culture-stream to Japan—the stream itself runs in a foreign bed, from which only artificial canals are dug over the land. It does not spring from inland fountains. The imported culture is, more or less, only veneer-work, and however it may deceive by the brightness of its outward polish, it lacks solidity and depth. If the Japanese people do not get the “new heart,” of which Yamamoto spoke, the new culture will fall to the ground, especially as the astounding haste with which it has hitherto been introduced must have the effect of laying a burden immediately upon the people which probably they cannot bear at once. Undoubtedly God, who makes use of manifold ways and means, in order to “open the door of faith to the heathen,” has, by the opening of Japan to the Christian culture of the West, prepared a way for the Evangelical Mission into the newly-opened empire; but it will be only when the latter shall have made good its footing in the land, that the former will have found a firm foundation. One well acquainted with Japanese matters, to whom we are indebted for one of the best works on the *Kingdom of the Mikado*, a work resting upon profound studies and personal observation—the American Griffis, who was for four years a professor in the Imperial College at Tokio, and enjoyed the closest intercourse with the most prominent statesmen, scholars,

priests, and artists of Japan, concludes his book—which is full of the highest admiration of the cultural acquisitions hitherto made—with the characteristic words: “Can an Asiatic despotism, which is founded upon heathenism and lying fables, regenerate itself? Will the stupendous reforms, which are already undertaken, consolidate and perfect themselves? Can a nation appropriate to itself the *fruits* of Christian civilization apart from its *roots*? I do not believe it. Unless the modern enlightened ideas of government, law, society, and the rights of individuals, strike their roots in far wider circles, unless the people generally are truly refined, and a stronger spiritual power take the place of Sintoism and Buddhism, it is scarcely possible that more should be gained than a glittering veneer-work of material civilization, and the introduction of foreign burdens which must lead to the same destruction of the Dai Nippos before the overlying nations of the west, that has befallen the dying-out races of America. But a new sun is rising over Japan. In 1870, there were but ten Protestants in the whole kingdom, now (1876) there are at least ten churches, with 800 members. [In the end of 1878, there were 1700 members, and a Christian community of about 4000.] Slowly but irresistibly the nation is being leavened by Christianity. In the next century the word *Jnaku* (paganus) will have the same meaning with *heathen*. With the energies which are rooted in a pure Christianity, Japan will, I am strongly convinced, sooner or later, take her place among the foremost nations of the world, and be at the head of the Asiatic peoples who now play a part in the world’s history.

Cast we now a glance upon India, which indeed is rather a collection of mankind than a people, and of which it is scarcely possible to speak without erroneous generalisations. We leave out of view altogether the Buddhist regions in the North and East. Buddhism is in its nature distinctly hostile to culture.¹⁴ The peoples who live under its sway resemble, according to Graul's pithy *dictum*, a churchyard. Only Jesus Christ is able to waken these dead, and to fill them with new life. But at present we have to do only with the Brahmanist Indian. The renowned culture of this proverbially old "wonderland" is in the present more than doubtful. "Much fairy scenery as of the thousand and one nights," gigantic ruins, sensual and sense-stupefying virtuosity, without sound foundation, harmonious penetration, and people-enlivening energy. The missionary Stern, who laboured twenty years in Bengal, replies very neatly to Mr. Buss: "Many judge of the Hindus of to-day according to the condition of the old Aryans of the Vedic period. I am convinced that it would be less erroneous to seek for the Greek of classical antiquity in the Greece of to-day. The modern Hindus are, except in so far as they are influenced by the European mind, in a condition of utter stagnation." Not even in material respects, with which alone we have now to do, has this culture been able to elevate the people. It is a very instructive fact that India, "that wonder-land, where the bosom of the earth and the water deals out in inexhaustible abundance all precious treasures of the mineral kingdom, gold, gems, pearls—where the surface of the earth is adorned with the most various charms, and the

most intense vitality of plant and animal life, where Nature, almost without labour, gives a luxuriant harvest three times in a year, and spontaneously presents men with the most exquisite fruits for refreshment and delight"—that this India, notwithstanding the most praiseworthy cultural efforts of the British Government, is, according to the testimony of the most competent judges, a poor land, whose agriculture stands on a low level, and which is ever falling into greater financial difficulties, to say nothing of the calamities which repeated great famines bring upon the population. In that wonder-land foreign adventurers collect immense treasures; but the natives not only are not improving, but are being impoverished. But culture cannot be obtruded upon any people from without. The religiously neutral Indo-British Government may spread a network of railroads and telegraphs over the whole land, may make one after another of the acquisitions of our civilization accessible to the natives, may even cause our natural science to be taught in their high schools—with all this they but put a new patch on an old garment, bring culture-patches but no new culture, a show of culture but no effective life of culture. So long as caste—to mention only this one thing—is not effectually overcome, producing, as it necessarily does, distinctions of nature betwixt men of the same nation, as if they were distinct races and beings, so long is a sound, harmonious culture, effectively embracing the whole people, an impossible thing. No doubt this eminent hindrance of culture is shaken by the European civilization; but nothing can effectively overcome it except the Gospel of Christ. The last Viceroy of India, Lord

Lawrence, is altogether right when he asserts that "however many benefits the English people have conferred on India, the missionaries have accomplished more than all other influences together."¹⁵ Evidently it is not to be understood as if the missionaries had done more in the immediate fostering of outward culture than the Government, commerce, and continual contact with the European civilization. Not little indeed has been done on the part of the mission in the most direct way for the advancement of the material progress of the Indian people, as *e.g.*, by the Basel Society's Industrial Workshops, the Christian Industrial Schools at Multan, Satara, Secundra, &c., the founding of Christian villages, the encouragement of agriculture in Tinnevely and Travancore, the improvement of the rural dwellings, &c. But the chief point is—to quote again the words of the Indo-British Government Report: "Through the efforts of the missionaries a new energy has been breathed into the ossified life of the vast masses of people subject to the British rule, which makes them better men and better citizens of the great State to which they belong." Even in relation to culture the saying holds good: "It is the Spirit that giveth life;" and this life-giving Spirit neither the Hindu reformation, the visibly declining Brahmasamaj, nor European science separated from Christianity, can impart to the Hindus. Undeniably this science bears a very important part in the culture-formation of the present day, and in point of fact it sets new culture forces in motion even in India. But while we in Western Christendom can bear these forces of civilization born of materialism, so long as our people's life rests upon the

positive life-principles of the Gospel, and the counter-acting forces of Christian morality can in some measure paralyse their undermining influence—a heathen nation, which wants those resisting forces which flow from a positive well of life, must be irredeemably ruined by a merely materialistic culture. Materialism, as the denial of spirit, is consequently also the negation of life; it is death. Jesus Christ, on the contrary, “the Lord, who is that Spirit” (2 Cor. iii. 17), is also “the Life” (John i. 4; v. 26; xiv. 6). As certainly as Jesus Christ is absolutely the Saviour of the world, so certainly is the mission, which brings this Jesus Christ to the heathen, the only cultural power which regenerates them to a new culture-life. The decisive battle for the culture-life of the people must be fought on the religious-moral field.

We have, perhaps, dwelt too long in the treatment of the influence of the mission on the awakening and fostering of material culture, which, indeed, strictly speaking, is not its peculiar field and province. Far more directly and comprehensively the cultural service of the mission is directed to the promotion of the spiritual life, which in its turn exercises a mighty reflex influence on the advancement of material civilization.

Without doubt the mission is the greatest “refinement-society” in the world. Among the current phrases with which the enlightened children of the nineteenth century are made to be afraid of the Gospel of Christ, one of the most common and the most effective is, that it stupefies the peoples. The culture strife of the present day is represented as a contest of scientific refinement with churchly unrefinement, the struggle of the light of illumination

with the darkness of the old Bible-belief. It is no part of the task assigned to us to defend Christianity in general against this absurd accusation, by pointing out the old *petitio principii* which lies at the foundation of the artful contrast. It is, it appears to us, most clearly refuted by the action of the mission, which, wherever we meet with it, shows itself as a refining power of the first rank.

Confessedly it is the first principle of the evangelical mission to proclaim the Gospel to every people in their mother-tongue. Our missionaries are therefore instructed to learn that language as soon and as thoroughly as possible. That they thereby render the most meritorious service to the science of language, and indirectly also to ethnology, in so far as they as linguists are the best qualified to give trustworthy information concerning the sentiments and the manners of foreign nations—as is acknowledged more and more by the foremost authorities—comes only incidentally under our notice with respect to our present design. Far more important is the advantage which accrues to the peoples who come under the care of the missionaries. This is in general the great distinction between the service rendered to science by the action of the missionaries, and the work of the professional scientist, that the former benefits the nations, the latter benefits only science; for while to science foreign nations are essentially an object to be known, to the mission they are the objects to be saved. The former investigates the peculiarities of lands, peoples, and languages in order to increase our knowledge; the latter in order to bring salvation to the natives. Geographical, ethnological, or linguistic investigation is the

end of science, but only means towards the end of the mission. We send our missionaries forth, not for the purpose of collecting scientific material; but they must collect this material, in order to accomplish the purpose which the mission aims at. The Word is the weapon with which they especially wage their war, and hence they must become masters of speech.

In the first instance they proclaim the Gospel by word of mouth. Never does the popular speech in which they do this contain the whole of the expressions which they need in order to designate the facts and the concepts of the Christian salvation. The language which they have learned is found, more or less, to be too poor for the preaching of the Christian salvation. There must, therefore, of necessity, be an enriching of the language, partly through the connecting of existing words with new concepts, and thus the refining of the previous meanings of the words; partly through the introduction of words newly formed, or borrowed from foreign languages. As at its first entrance, so even now, on its introduction among a people who had been hitherto excluded from it, Christianity exercises a speech-refining power.¹⁶ It is manifest that thereby a very important cultural factor is introduced into the intellectual life of a people. It is not only that the circle of sentiments and conceptions of the natives is strengthened and enlarged, not only that the language is enriched and enlivened, there is also imparted a stimulus to new mental activity, which spreads its undulations outward beyond the region of the religious. It is difficult to trace this influence precisely, because it is so mental in its concrete individual effects;

but it is proved by the elevation of the common condition of refinement wherever it has taken effect among any people who have been the object of the mission, whether in the Middle Ages or in the present day.

The cultural importance of the missionaries' concernment with language is much more manifest in the proclamation of salvation by writing. It is one of the fundamental maxims of the Protestant missionary procedure that the fountain of revelation—the Bible—is to be put into the hands of every people as soon as possible. Without controversy a general possession of the means of communicating thought is essential to every pervasive and lasting popular enlightenment. Just as little is it to be doubted that a people without writing stands on a very low platform of mental enlightenment, so that a special advancement in culture begins for a people with the advancement of their language into a written language. Now for this special advancement a great number of heathen peoples in the present day—in the South Seas, in Asia, in Africa, and in America—are indebted to the Evangelical mission. We cannot give their number precisely. Buss puts them—certainly far too low—at 30; Hoffman—too high for his time (1855)—at more than 100. We shall probably be near the truth if we say from 70 to 80. That is truly an eminent cultural achievement, on account of which alone the mission should be honoured by cotemporaries as a cultural power of the first order.

But the mission has not only given a written language to peoples who were hitherto entirely without writing; it has in addition, by means of its Bible-translation work,

introduced a new literary epoch among all the peoples among whom it carries on its work. According to the Seventy-Fourth "Annual Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society" (p. 237), the Bible, in whole or in part, has been printed in 303 languages or dialects. Of these, the Society named has superintended the translation and publication in 172 languages directly, and in 53 indirectly: in all, 225 languages, and for the most part in more than one edition. More than four-fifths of these translations have been made since the formation of the Society, and for the most part by missionaries. Besides the general catalogue contained in the Report before us (p. 228-237) there is a special historico-ethnographical table, brought down to the latest date, regarding all the translations of the whole or of portions of Holy Scripture into the Indian languages and dialects, made by Protestant missionaries, and generally printed by help of the British Bible Society, and many of which, since their first publication, have either been translated anew, or revised and improved. This table exhibits 58 Indian languages and dialects to which the Bible has been made accessible since the first decade of this century. Many Bible translations, and not only in India, are produced in indigenous presses, which are wrought by natives, as, *e.g.*, the Samoan Bible, whose cost has been fully defrayed by the native Christians. Of the New Testament 15,000 copies, of the whole Bible 12,000 have been issued. To mention specially the Bible translation work of the German Missionary Societies, the Church of the Brethren (Moravians), so far as we know, has produced 2 (Eskimo and Tibetan); the Basel

Society, 6 (Tshi and Gâ in Africa, Kanarese, Malayalim, and Tulu in India, the Hakka dialect in China); the Barmen Society, 6 (Nama, Herero, Borneo, Battia, the Puntî dialect in China, Niassa); the Leipsic Society, 1 (Tamul); Bremen, 1 (Ewe); Gossner's mission, 1 (Mundari); the Berlin South African Society, 1 or 2 (Zulu and for British Kaffir-land); Crischona, 2 (Ahmaric and Galla; in all, 21 Bible translations, while Hermannsburg does not appear to have undertaken this department of work.

For the purpose of our inquiry we have not to advert to the value of these Bible translations for the spread of the Gospel, but rather the value they have had, and still have, for the spread of culture. Confessedly, Ulfilas's and Luther's translations play a foremost part not only in the Church history, but also in the history of literature and culture in Germany. Both have been of the most far-reaching importance, for the development of the language, and for the advancement of the intellectual education of the people. When a Herr von Hellwald puts forth the assertion that the German Church Reformation brought no cultural gain, it is perfectly palpable with respect to his fanatical hatred against the Bible, and his naive ignorance of all matters relating to the religious life; but scarcely any one will perceive in it a proof of his qualifications to write a history of culture. Had Luther done nothing more than give our people the German Bible, for this one deed even those who cannot appreciate his deserts in the furthering of our religious life must have assigned him an honourable place in the history of German culture. The German Bible has

awakened a wholly new intellectual life in our nation, and has made a way for intellectual refinement even into the humblest cottages—a fact which Gustav Freitag, for example, fully estimates in his *Pictures from the German Past*. With Luther's Bible translation the art of reading was introduced among our people, and the foundation was laid for our special popular schools. Who shall estimate the cultural advantage which the German Bible alone, as a house-book and a school-book, has conferred for three centuries and a half on the education of our nation? No literary production has exerted any influence upon effective popular education even approaching that exercised by Luther's translation of the Bible.

We are not, however, so enthusiastic as to put all translations of the Bible, made by the missionaries of the present day, on the same level, in point of value and efficacy, with Luther's version. But having to illustrate by an obvious and indubitable example the importance of Bible translation for the intellectual life of a people, we exemplified it by reference to the Lutheran version. Most of the Bible translations of our missionaries are indeed but very mediocre works, and we are not of those who blindly estimate every new version as a vast missionary feat. This confession we make even at the risk of receiving very ambiguous commendation at the hands of the Romish enemies of the Bible Societies. The missionary translators have to write in a language which is not their mother-tongue; and, besides, many undertake the work of translating far too soon, and many also without the necessary scientific and otherwise essential

qualifications. Therefore we frankly confess that even the successful Bible translations accomplished by the missionaries are really only provisional works, for later versions to be effected by the natives themselves. Yet even these more or less successful provisional works do a great cultural service, inasmuch as they supply to the people a means of education which, however linguistically imperfect it may perhaps be, gives to both Christians and heathens an impulse to a new intellectual life. Even so, that by means of these Bible versions the language is subjected to a process of advancement and refinement, the intellectual life is put in motion. "To me it is not a matter of doubt," writes a competent judge on these matters, the early missionary Jellingham, "that by the spread of European education, along with the influence of mission schools, even the East Indian languages are essentially improved in accuracy, and even partly in copiousness. As soon as a language becomes a "school language," and is employed for teaching scientific subjects, the style necessarily becomes more pointed and precise, loses its childish diffuseness, and a great multitude of words acquire a more definite meaning. Thus the translated Bible is important for the Christian population, even as a means of refining the native languages. The Bible, in its many translations into the most diverse languages, is certainly designed of God for this end among others, to bring these languages, in their intellectual content and in their expression of concepts, nearer to one another, and to render them more homogeneous and more intelligible. Without the Bible mankind would be without a great means of intellectual unity, and a

common interpreter." In addition to this, we must not forget—what we shall have to speak of more fully further on—that with Bible translation comes the school, and with the school the education of the people. In Bengal, for example, where, before the publication of the first Bible translation, scarcely a thirtieth part of the population could read, the number of readers in the course of fifty years increased threefold. To this not only the mission schools had contributed, but also the heathen schools, which were instituted by the Brahmans in opposition to the missions, and the Government schools, which were called into life by the direct and indirect stimulus of the missions. "Whereas, at the time when Henry Martyn came to India (1805), the vernacular was in the rudest condition, and knowledge was imprisoned in the inaccessible, labyrinthine castle of the Sanskrit, and all access to it by the people was prohibited by the Brahmans, while in Mohammedan circles all instruction lay behind the thick veils of the Arabic and Persian languages, so that the Bengali and still more the Hindi were scarcely written languages; they now contain a sacred and secular literature, which began with the Bible, and is increasing every year. The Bible pours out light and life, awakens the languages from death: this awakening in its turn promotes translation, and a process is afoot which indeed will never, or only very slowly, come to its goal without oral preaching, but with it must necessarily end in the Christianising of all lands and provinces."

But Bible-translating is by no means the only literary achievement of the missionaries. We confine ourselves,

in the first instance, to India. What takes place there is so much the more important, as in that land we have to do with an old culture-people. We are in the fortunate position of being able to adduce, with respect to the great influence which the missionaries exert by their extensive literary exertions, upon the advancement of the natives of that country, the official testimony of the religiously-neutral Indo-British Government, whom nobody will charge with any partiality for the mission. In the Report for 1872 it is said, among other things: "No class pays greater attention to the study of the vernacular languages than the missionaries. The effect of this is too important to be overlooked. The missionaries are universally well acquainted with the natives. They have issued hundreds of publications both for schools and for home reading, in the fifteen most prominent languages of India, and in various other dialects. They are the authors of several dictionaries and grammars; they have written important works on the native classics and their philosophic systems, they have really stimulated the great increase of native literature, which has been produced by educated Hindus of later years."

"There are (1872) in India twenty-five mission presses. In the ten years 1852-1862 there issued from them 1,634,940 portions of Holy Scripture (mostly single books) and 8,604,033 tracts, school-books and writings for general use. In the ten years, 1862-72, there appeared 3410 new works, in thirty languages, and there were 1,315,503 portions of Scripture, 2,375,040 school-books and 8,750,129 Christian tracts and books put in circulation."

Now, these millions of books must find readers. Apart altogether from the diffusion of Christian ideas which is unquestionably effected by them, what a new movement do they introduce into the "stereotyped life" of the very classes who have hitherto had virtually no part in the mental activity of the educated higher classes! The Christian mission-literature opens a new epoch of Indian literary history, and this new epoch of literary history lays the foundation for a new epoch of Indian cultural history. With the sacred and secular literature introduced by the mission, a new intellectual education, and that of the people, has been brought into India. No doubt, since the new literary epoch began, other factors besides the mission have played important parts. There has also sprung up a filthy literature which is working moral evil. It is manifest that consequently the mission-literature has a new importance for the moral life of the people; and it is pleasing to be able to state that under the impulse given by the mission, a society has been formed in Calcutta, composed of Christians and heathens, to counteract the obscene press—a society at the head of which, along with the leader of the Brahma Somaj and the president of a society for the defence of Hinduism, stands the well-known learned missionary, Dr. Wenger.

Even in China the literary activity of the missionaries is receiving more and more recognition at the hands of the political press, which otherwise is but little favourable to the mission. Thus the *China Mail*, of 4th December last, contains a learned article on "Protestant Missionaries and School-Books among the Chinese," in which not only the "classical purity of the style" is commended by

which these writings throw the natives into astonishment, but especially the resolution of the Shanghai Conference to assign to a committee the publication of a series of school-books and books of science, is highly praised. "Dr. Edkins, one of the most prominent Sinologues, has promised a text-book on logic and comparative philology; Mr. Griffith John, who became known twenty years ago by his treatises on the Moral Philosophy of the Chinese, is to write a book on ethics; Dr. Martin, Principal of the Pekin College, and translator of a text-book on international law, and other writings, is occupied with works on political economy and mathematical physics; while Mr. Fryer, the indefatigable translator to the Chinese Government, and editor of the *Chinese Scientific Magazine*, will prepare works on mineralogy, chemistry, and the industries of Europe. Dr. Williamson, who for years past has been producing important scientific treatises of the *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, and has made for himself a name by an original philosophical dissertation on the origin of the world, is to write on the physiology of plants, on culture-history, and comparative religion. Dr. Dudgeon, the well-known author of a Chinese anatomical atlas, and of a work on the diseases of China, has promised a text-book on physiology, while Dr. Osgood will produce a similar one on anatomy. Mr. Mateer, the author of numerous Chinese school-books, has undertaken arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry. There are many other well-known names in the list, all of which we cannot mention. It is enough to state that Mr. Faber, whose sermons on the Gospel of Mark are in the hands of all

native Chinese preachers, whose brief exposition of the Confucian doctrine, and whose works on Licius, Mencius, and Micius have secured for him a foremost place among Sinologues, has undertaken to furnish a Chinese commentary written from a Christian standpoint, on the most important Chinese classics." The article designates this work as the most important undertaking which has been entered on by Protestant or Catholic missionaries in China in the course of the present century.

Turn we now a glance to the literary activity of the mission exerted among peoples who have been hitherto without a literature. It is a widespread prejudice that for the so-called nature-peoples only second-rate missionaries are required, while to the culture-peoples scientifically educated men must be sent—a prejudice on which of late an entirely new mission method has been established. We shall not make ourselves chargeable with any paradox by maintaining the opposite view. But we have no doubt that we need very accomplished men as missionaries among the uncivilized peoples. We do not mean under all circumstances university-trained missionaries: for it would first have to be proved that these are in all cases the most accomplished men. But we mean men naturally gifted, soundly and solidly educated, especially apt in the acquirement of foreign languages, and qualified by singleness of heart and decision of character for the treatment and training of uncivilized peoples, men who can both descend to the level of those below them, and gradually raise them to such civilization as they are capable of. The task assigned to these men seem to us as great as—indeed

greater than—that which is to be performed among the Hindus or the Chinese. Even the acquirement of a language, which must, so to speak, be first discovered, requires great acuteness, as well as great patience. Now, the missionary must not only himself learn the languages, not only must he construct a grammar and a lexicon of these, he must also reduce them to writing, and lay the foundation of a literature, however elementary. That is a mighty task; and this task has been taken in hand, not by science, so proud of her powers, not by commerce, that celebrated civilizer, not by the European colonial policy, so much belauded as the educator of barbarians, but by the despised mission, wherever she has planted her foot amid barbarism.

The performances in this direction are already so extensive that it is scarcely possible to enumerate them. Besides, the published accounts are very insufficient for forming a catalogue. We content ourselves with stating, so far as our information, mostly derived from private correspondence, extends, what literary work, apart from Bible translations, has been done on the part of the German missionary societies.

[I have omitted the long list given by the author, because it gives no idea of the number of works produced by the whole body of missionaries, nor of the size or character of those produced by the German missionaries. The list contains upward of 260 items; but a frequently recurring one is “tracts” or “school-books.”—*Trans.*]

This is, as has been said, only the literary achievement of the German missionary societies, and we fear

that it is not complete. But it is well known that the missionaries in the service of the German societies—about 515 in number—are only about a fifth part of the ordained missionaries sent from Europe and America, and we have good grounds for the assumption that the whole of their literary productions are much more than five times as numerous as those produced by Germans. That our readers may have a fair impression of the important extent of these works, we only mention that the great American Board, alone (A. B. C. F. M.) have converted into written languages sixteen hitherto unwritten dialects, and have published in 46 dialects about 2300 writings of the most varied extent and contents. The Hawaian literature alone numbers 107 works. Among the publications of the Society there are eleven religious newspapers in ten languages, which are supported mainly by natives. We give further, in form of a note, the carefully prepared catalogue of an English Society—(the Church Missionary Society.)*

Of course the greater part of this very varied literary products is of a religious character. But however contemptuously many enraged friends of culture in these days may think of theological literature, it is still a literature; and the fact cannot be set aside that even among the now civilized nations of the Christian West, theology has taken the lead in the march of literature. It is with literature as with the school. Both have come forth from the womb of the Christian Church. So also among the still uncivilized peoples of the present day, religious literature generally opens the epoch of

* This Catalogue also I omit.—*Trans.*

literary history. Among the literature products, for example, we meet with many song-books. Most of the hymns in them may be accommodations of home church-hymns; still, by means of them a stimulus is given to religious poetry; original poetic productions soon follow—weak enough probably at first—as, among others, the example of the Tamulians, the Kohls, and the Sotho-negroes proves—productions which more or less approximate to popular songs, and are of no small importance for the evangelisation of the people. But along with the writings of religious matter, there is no lack of secular books, as our catalogues show. We find—not to speak of grammatical and lexical works—collections of proverbs, tales, &c.; books on arithmetic, history, and geography, and popular scientific writings; before all, primers and school reading-books. It was a mark of narrow-mindedness to call the publication of a school-primer, or, if you like, an A B C book, an unimportant work. Even in our circumstances it is by no means an easy task to produce a really good primer. There are many indeed who undertake such work, but few who succeed. And how much greater are the difficulties among a people which either possesses no written language, or is to only the smallest extent occupied with reading? In such a case a primer is in fact a pioneer work. And this pioneer work devolves on the missionary. The task thereby assigned him is truly not less than that of a colleague who perhaps writes learned controversial treatises in opposition to the Indian or Chinese philosophers, and the service which he renders by means of his primer perhaps contributes more to

general cultivation than the lectures delivered in the high schools of the Hindus of scientific capacities.

In closest connection with this literary activity of the missionaries stands the school activity, which they exercise most extensively, both amongst barbarous and civilized peoples. This school activity is the necessary result of the mission design, and the necessary requirement of the mission method. The evangelical mission must put the Bible into the hands of the converts; but, in order that they may learn to understand the Bible, they must first teach them to read, and must instruct them in the meaning of it. According to the commission given them by the founder of the mission, they are to make men His disciples by baptism and instruction. It is not indeed strictly school teaching that is commanded in this precept, yet that is developed from it with absolute necessity under the relations of the present day. We stand up very decidedly for missionary school activity. We have neither any idea of converting missionaries into schoolmasters, nor can we consent to the introduction of a sort of compulsory schooling, or to the production of educational caricatures by a school-standard injudiciously placed too high. But with all the protestations that we must take against didactic unskilfulness, the old principle still holds good, *abusus non tollit usum*. Without school teaching no mission praxis is to be thought of at the present day. Granted that we cannot teach the old to read, we cannot help instructing the children in this art. Infant-baptism demands infant-teaching, and infant-teaching demands the school. And although at the outset we restrict ourselves to oral instruction and to

religious subjects, it is in the nature of things that reading and writing must soon be introduced, and all sorts of similar instruction must follow. It is often contested now-a-days to whom among us the maternity of the school belongs. Only party prejudice can doubt of the decision on this point. As in these days the mission is everywhere the mother of the school, so with us also, the foundation of the school was laid with the introduction of Christianity; and especially as a result of the Reformation they were built on this foundation. Certainly, other powers have since done much to foster and help the schools, and have greatly advanced them. But the mother remains the mother. Still no mother is the sole educator of her child; schools, intercourse with others, and life do more than the mother can do. But even when the son becomes a professor, or a general, or a privy-councillor, his mother is still his mother; no one but his mother has given him life, and begun his education. It appears that we are come to the beginnings of the same process in the case of the schools, which we have already gone through in relation to the blessings of material culture. The Gospel of Christ, brought by the mission, has laid the foundation, and given the first impulse to the one as to the other. Other factors have afterwards entered into the development, and have advanced the schools mightily through newly-created forces, till the grown-up children have constantly forgotten their origin; yea, have turned their hand against their mother. It is the old lamentation, "I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass

his master's crib, but Israel knows not, and my people considereth not!"

This by way of parenthesis. Let us now summarise what the modern mission is accomplishing for the school. According to the latest statistical statements—those for 1874—which, on account of the difficulty of collecting the whole material, are no doubt very imperfect, there were about 400,000 scholars receiving regular training in the mission schools, a number far exceeded by those of the present day. According to the statement of Buss, "Ten to twelve thousand schools of various sorts owe their institution to the mission. In India alone, according to the reckoning of Dr. Mullens, the mission, in the year 1862, was maintaining nearly 2000 schools, in which not fewer than 81,850 children were receiving education, while the number of Government schools did not exceed 500. According to the last official report of the Indian Government, the number of scholars under the school-tuition of the mission had in 1871-72 risen to 142,952, so that in ten years there is an increase of about 62,000 scholars, or 79 to 80 per cent. Should the mission schools increase in the same proportion in the future, the number of their pupils in twenty years will rise to nearly half a million. At Minahassa, in the Celebes, the Netherlands Mission Society alone supports more than one hundred different schools, to which is chiefly to be ascribed the powerful influence which Christianity there, under the guidance of the missionaries, is exerting, in increasing proportion, over the formerly heathen population. The most diverse classes and their requirements are provided for in these establishments.

The mission not only provides common Christian schools for children of all ages, which in the most important places are divided into elementary, primary, and secondary schools; but also infant schools, adult schools, seminaries for teachers and preachers, boarding schools, what are called feeding schools, orphan houses, industrial schools, Sunday schools, &c. In some only the young people of the converts are educated, others receive Christian and heathen children indiscriminately. The institutions for the training of native teachers and preachers are of special importance, and to their success more and more interest is attached. India alone, in 1872, had 85 such seminaries, with 1618 pupils, and 28 normal schools for female teachers, with 567 scholars.

“The schools not only form the strong ground upon which an extensive development of the entire Christian community may be best secured; they also give a great impulse to the impression of Christian sentiments upon the ranks of those who are not yet converted. Chiefly through them the general cultural condition of the heathen population is being gradually improved. A pleasing instance of this is to be found among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, who, in the course of forty or fifty years, have been changed from a rude race of savages, given to cannibalism and prostitution, into a well-governed, orderly people, occupying a respectable position in the scale of general refinement and material prosperity. To this mighty change the school instruction that has been provided for them has been not the smallest contributor. Schools established among unchristian peoples are in fact a salutary and continuous creation;

and had the mission done naught else but given schools in various parts of the world to uncultured or half-civilized peoples, it would have thereby deserved the constant thanks of mankind. After hundreds of years to come, the peoples interested will acknowledge with thankfulness the blessed influence of these missionary institutions."

We have accorded so much space to the testimony of this man, because no one can impute to him a partizan preference for the "pietest" mission. But Herr Buss is a man in whom party zeal has not destroyed truthfulness, and who, in all his polemic against the "pietist" mission, has been honest enough to see and to acknowledge the good that is in it. In view of the testimony of such an opponent, who has really made missions a study, what avails the cry of the ignoramuses prejudiced by party feeling, that the mission, as a work of unenlightened men, only stupefies the people, and consigns them to mental bondage?

On account of the importance of the matter, it is necessary to add some other testimonies. First, once more with reference to India. "With respect to education," Lord Napier, late Governor of Madras, testifies in the address already mentioned, "the aid of the religious societies is of incalculable value for the Government and the people. The missionary bodies, by the transformation and extension of the school-system, afforded help, without which the Government could not have instituted their reforms. Especially for the lower classes, the educational work of the mission is the only successful one. And this side of their assiduity is fully acknow-

ledged and esteemed by the educated natives." But besides the numerous elementary schools for the people, there is also a considerable number of higher schools, a sort of gymnasium, conducted by missionaries, and attended by heathen and Mohammedan scholars. It is well known that it was the distinguished Scottish missionary, Dr. Duff, who most successfully gave the impulse to these educational institutions, which afterwards exerted a widespread influence in the educational policy of the Government. Certainly, the Christian character of these institutions is not denied; and the Bible is read and explained in all the classes; but the Christian element is put too much in the background in comparison with the common scientific instruction which is eagerly sought; while it is a fact that comparatively few of the scholars who attend them openly embrace Christianity. One may have but a low estimate of the missionary value of these institutions;* but the special friends of culture should give them all praise for their cultural value; for it is beyond all doubt that by these schools the mission has introduced an element of enlightenment among the higher classes of the Indian people, which they could never have originated of themselves. The official Report of the Indo-British Government, which has been repeatedly mentioned, speaks of the missions-school system generally, and especially of these higher schools, with the highest commendation, and states with satisfaction that in the period from 1862 to 1873, 1621 *alumni* of these institutions passed the test of proficiency in one of the three Indian universities.

* See Translator's Introduction.

On occasion of his second journey into India, Monier Williams, the well-known Oxford Professor of Sanskrit, passes the following judgment on these mission schools:—"Here"—in Madras—"as in other parts of India, the mission schools are doing, in my opinion, a noble work. The education which they impart rests, openly and professedly, entirely upon a Christian basis. The Bible is learned without the ecclesiastical dogmas being pressed upon the scholars. My second journey has strengthened, more than was the case before, my conviction that India is deriving the greatest benefits through the energetic efforts which the missionaries of all denominations are putting forth. What has been hitherto attained is as nothing in comparison with the part which they are destined to play for the future of our Indian empire. Every day the European missionary is becoming a more important link between the Government and the people. He is the object of the greatest confidence to the natives of all classes, and is often able to accomplish what the Government, with its policy of neutrality, is powerless to effect. The mission schools attract the children of the adherents of all religions, although they professedly inspire them with a spirit adverse to these religions. It may be that the mere Bible teaching often serves only to destroy without necessarily constructing; but it constantly and unobservedly infuses principles incompatible with the Pantheistic ideas, with which the Hindu mind is commonly saturated. Although it does not always immediately substitute the true faith for the false, yet it lays the foundation for a future faith in a personal God. For the deceitful sandy

foundation of Pantheism it substitutes that of a living rock, upon which afterwards the specially evangelising missionaries can build more extensively, when the value of the Gospel is compared with that of the Vedas and the Koran. It is my conviction that the immense work of the Christianisation of India is to be accomplished not only by specific mission methods, but rather by the co-operation of Divine and human instrumentalities in a great variety of ways. And so I hold that it will be brought about especially—more slowly and quietly, and without observation indeed, than is commonly expected—by the impressions produced upon the minds of the children by the educational process which is going on in the schools of our missionaries. Of all the schools which I visited in Southern India there were especially two which astonished me by their meritorious operations—viz., the Scottish Free Church Institution in Madras, in which there were about 1000 scholars; and that of the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevely, under Bishop Sargent, in whose district there are about 60,000 evangelical converts from heathenism.”

Not only the missionaries, but also the Indo-British Government, through the direct and indirect impulse given by the mission, are zealously undertaking school work, on which they are spending large funds. It is reasonable and right that we should have a word of acknowledgment for this; and all the more because, according to the grant-in-aid system, many mission schools are subsidised by the Government, and missionaries are willingly appointed as school inspectors. But the religiously-neutral standpoint brings the Govern-

ment in all their good designs for the natives into an unsound method of education, which is dangerous even to itself. The Government schools must be professedly and by statute without religion, and irreligious schools, in India as well as at home, train a godless and immoral race. The higher mission schools mentioned above have much that is doubtful about them, notwithstanding their Bible instruction; especially that they are more concerned to prepare their pupils for the university examinations than to form in them a thoroughly religious moral character; but the Government schools, which are entirely without religion, however they may contribute to the spread of intellectual advancement, are very dangerous in the interests of moral improvement. Not the missionaries alone, but even the earnest heathen, are the opponents of these schools. In a lecture which Babu Amurtha Lal Bose, an agent of the Brahma Samaj, delivered a few years ago at Bangalore, on the Government system of education, he declared openly that it has brought many evils on the land; that the youth of Bengal are utterly ruined by it. Specially explicit, and as it appears to us, to the point, and instructive also with respect to our own school policy, was a lecture which the First Prince of the kingdom of Travancore delivered some time ago in a literary society.¹⁷ The following is part of his statement:—"School education is extending more rapidly in this land than anywhere else in the world; but the educational influences of it are not making equal advance; and it is an unhappy fact that the education which the school affords does not extend to the whole mass. School education aims at

three results with different degrees of certainty. First, and most certainly, it furnishes the mind with knowledge. Secondly, and less certainly, it sharpens the capacity of the reason, strengthens the reasoning faculty, and ripens the judgment. Thirdly, and least certainly, it fortifies and purifies the moral man. Without this third, the balance is lost. Without moral character, a man is as useless as a watch which has a strong mainspring, but has no balance. Our school education comes but little into contact with the moral man. On the other hand, the effect of Christianity upon the morals of the people has been astonishing. I am not a Christian, but I accept the Christian moral teaching. . . . Our school education contributes but little to moral progress. Now, as the germ of the future tree is in the innermost part of its fruit, so the germ of moral development is in the innermost being of the man. Here it is that the movement must begin. . . . So far it is certain, that there is a God who knows what we think and do, that we are morally responsible men, and that our life should be regulated accordingly. Let this great and solemn truth fill your hearts, and from that moment there is hope of moral development."

People occupying our position are often disbelieved when they assert that intellectual education, without moral foundation, is a very doubtful cultural gain. Perhaps the testimony of a heathen will be more convincing. When he freely states with reference to Christianity that "its effect upon the morals of the people has been astonishing; I have my own views regarding it; but I accept the Christian moral teaching in its full perfection,

and have the highest admiration of it," we cannot take it amiss in a heathen; but a Christian should know that the Christian faith and the Christian morals are connected as the root and the stem, and that he betrays a defective judgment who thinks that the latter can be cultivated while the former is cast overboard. He who detaches a flower from its root causes it to wither.

The testimony of the Prince of Travancore receives new confirmation from precisely similar experiences in Japan. "It is true"—so writes a young Christian Japanese a short time ago—"that schools, academies, and seminaries have now been established in all parts of Japan, in which provision is made both for general and for special departmental education. But what advantage do these schools promise for the real well-being of Japan? What, for example, is the character of the Imperial University, as men are pleased to call the highest of all these schools? I attended this university for two years, and tell only what I have myself seen and heard. There are here, under the special protection of the Government, nearly 800 students, sons of the richest, noblest, and worthiest men of the country. Some 25 foreign professors are teaching medicine, chemistry, jurisprudence, literature, and natural science. But the students learn quite other things; they smoke, they drink, they do worse things than these. They despise all morality and religion. Shall it be the unhappy fate of these disciples of science to be instructed in all the arts of an accomplished man, without morality and religion? Mill and Spencer, Darwin and Comte, are working greater havoc in Japan than was ever wrought by the

cloudy mythology of Sinotism or the dark superstition of Buddhism. And who are we that we should be able to oppose them, and protect the coming generations from their poisoned darts? Christians must establish an educational institution, from which a Christian spirit shall go forth, and which shall provide as comprehensive scientific instruction as is given in the University of Tokio."

The great importance of the missionary school system in the history of culture is that it seeks to impart to the culture-peoples of the West* an intellectual education resting on Christian, religious, and therefore moral foundations, an education which does not eat away the life of the people at its innermost root, but renders it healthy and strong.

Among the nature-peoples it is practically the mission alone that is occupied with education. We give only a few specimens from the wide territory which it is cultivating. According to the last Annual Report, the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, where there are about 4000 Christians under its care, maintains 41 schools of various kinds at all its stations and out-stations: infant, common, and middle schools, two seminaries for teachers and one for preachers, with 112 various classes, which in all are attended by 1135 male and female scholars, without counting the Sabbath schools. What an educational leaven among the black population! Even the small North-German Missionary Society, which occupies only four stations on the Slave Coast, and besides its Seminary, has only four schools, which may be attended by about

* Qu. East.—*Trans.*

150 children, is by means of them sowing a widely self-propagating seed. "If we would estimate the importance of the school-work," writes the inspector of this Society, "we must remember that, apart from Waya, from which a special report has not come to hand, 27 different districts of Eweland are sharing the blessing of a Christian school-education."

Very important are the school operations developed by the London Missionary Society, which in all its mission fields maintains 1707 schools. In Madagascar, for example, where fifty years ago no one thought of the education of the people, there are, according to the latest yearly report, 745 schools of various sorts under the superintendence of this society, regularly attended by 41,457 scholars. Upon the Polynesian Islands under the Society's charge there are 590, with 19,270 male and female scholars; while the Wesleyans have in the same islands 1697 day-schools, with 49,203 scholars. The Church Missionary Society have up to this time called into life 1499 schools, in which as many as 57,145 scholars are being educated. Of these schools, 29 with 1488 scholars fall to the lot of Yorubaland, and 7 with 235 scholars to that of the Niger mission-field, first opened by Bishop Samuel Crowther. As the *Globus* reports, a competitive examination lately took place at Otago in New Zealand between the five best Maori children in the mission-school for natives, and as many white children of the English schools, in arithmetic, geography, writing, spelling, and reading. "In dictation the Maoris were easily beaten; but in arithmetic they solved 22 out of 30 examples correctly, while the English

children solved only 14. The results in geography were about equal, though somewhat in favour of the Maoris. They had the advantage also in writing, but were inferior in oral spelling. At the close the judges declared that upon the whole neither party was superior to the other—a result which was not unexpected by those who knew the intellectual powers of the Maoris.” With respect to the school work of the Wesleyans in the Fiji Islands, the *Globus*, which is otherwise little friendly to the mission, and quite lately Sir Arthur Gordon, the governor of these islands, speak out with full recognition. Dr. Wange-mann, an old Prussian Seminary director, is pleased beyond his expectation with what has been accomplished by the various mission-schools which he visited on occasion of his tour in South Africa. Under the superintendence of the American Board—to mention further only this one society—there are now, with the exclusion of the Sandwich Islands, which are now ecclesiastically independent, 653 schools with 26,170 scholars, of whom, however, only a small part belong to barbarous races.

No doubt the numbers which we have presented are insufficient as compared with the vast masses which the mission has not yet reached with its school operations. Yet they show that the mission is doing what it can for the intellectual elevation of even the most degraded peoples.

A by no means inconsiderable department of the mission schools has to do, as has been already pointed out, with the training of native teachers and preachers. The training of these forces is almost a necessity for the mission, since it is obvious that, in proportion to the

extent of the field of labour, the always small number of European missionaries is altogether insufficient, even, for example, to conduct the indispensable school operations. And more than this; however important the foreign missionaries are as pioneers, and however indispensable their superintendence may be for a long time to come, yet the formation of real churches of the people can only be accomplished when their own people in larger numbers take the work in hand independently. In his *Recollections*, already quoted, Mr. Leupolt relates an instructive anecdote. When he was one day engaged in street-preaching at Kasipur to a respectful and attentive audience, a Brahman came forward and addressed the assemblage in these words: "Look at these people; see what they are doing to you."

"They are preaching to us," was the answer.

"Good. But what has the Saheb in his hand?"

"The New Testament."

"Right; the New Testament; but what does that signify? I will tell you. It is the Gospel-axe, in which a European handle has been fixed. Come to-day, you find they are wielding the axe. Come to-morrow, they are doing the same. And against what are they wielding the axe? Against the goodly tree of our Hinduism, against our religion. It took a thousand years for the tree to strike its roots in the soil of Hindostan. Now it spreads its branches all over India; it is a goodly, noble tree; but these men come day by day with axe in hand. They look at the tree and the tree looks at them; but it is helpless, and the strokes of the axe sound continually. Great and strong as it is, it must eventually fall."

"All right," answered the missionary; "but consider that many a poor handle is broken, and many a one slips from the axe, and it is always a long time before a new one comes from Europe and becomes serviceable."

"Ah, were that all, it would in truth be well. The fall of the tree would be prevented. But how does the matter really stand? The axe finds that the handle is no longer serviceable; does the wielding of it cease? Not at all. It climbs the tree, it examines it and says, 'There is a beautiful branch, of which a new handle might be made!' Up springs the axe, down falls the branch, and straightway it is formed into a handle. The European handle is taken out, the native handle is inserted, and the swinging goes on afresh. Ultimately the tree falls under the handles which have been made of its own branches."

The great extension which the mission work has attained—in the South Seas, for example—is due in no small measure to the active co-operation of the native teachers and evangelists. The London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies together have 329 ordained, and 1180 unordained, native agents. In India there are more than 400 ordained pastors, and probably ten times as many unordained native agents; in Madagascar the London Missionary Society has 62 ordained and 3169 unordained native agents; the Church Missionary Society has in all its districts 170 ordained native pastors, and 2680 other helpers in schools and churches; the American Board has 126 and 1052 of these classes in its service. And to notice further only one German Missionary Society—the Gossner Kohl-Mission employs

6 native ministers, 11 probationers, 88 catechists, 71 village teachers, 12 teachers in the great schools in Purulia and Ranchi, and 4 colporteurs—in all 192 men—who are all, alas! paid from the mission treasury. We can scarcely err if we estimate the whole number of these labourers at 22,000 to 24,000, and their number is increasing every year. At first sight this will perhaps appear to be a disproportionately large number. “I ask myself,” says the visitor who communicates the statistics of the Gossner Society, “whether so many are necessary, and after strict inquiry must confess that many more such helpers can and must be appointed. The whole community lives in more than 1000 villages, scattered over a wide territory, and the catechumens and young Christians need, on every account, a firm hold of a man under the superintendence of the missionaries. The education of the Christian children, of catechumens in order to baptism, and of the baptized for the Holy Communion, the holding of daily morning and evening prayers, as well as Sabbath services in more than 100 chapels, the protection of the inexperienced Christians from going over to the Anglicans or the Jesuits, who are both labouring in our immediate neighbourhood, the counselling of them in all the circumstances of life, especially in their social requirements, besides the extremely desirable influence on the surrounding heathen;—all this makes it appear desirable that the number of native helpers be not restricted, but if possible increased, of course under the condition that well qualified men be employed in the several offices.” In general these remarks are applicable to almost all mission-fields.

It is here that the interest of the mission is most closely connected with the interest of culture. A great part of the culturally important education of the people lies in the effort to make the native Christians as soon as possible self-acting and self-standing; for hardly in any other way can the mental power of the people be so wakened and strengthened as by the necessity to furnish forth from among themselves men to undertake their spiritual leadership. It is one of the most irrelevant accusations, made only through ignorance and party feeling, that the evangelical mission aims at establishing for itself a lordship over the heathen, by seeking to hold them continually like children in leading-strings. Granted that among the missionaries there are individuals who are deficient in breadth of view, and in the full understanding of their educational task. Yet it is, the longer the more, the energetic effort of the collective evangelical mission, and especially of those who have gone forth from the home free churches, to set the young converts as soon as possible on their own feet, and to hand over to them the work that has been begun among them; so far as this can be done without injury to their healthy development. We refer, in confirmation of this, only to the essay of an American missionary, Sturgis, who convincingly expounds the principles on which the training of the natives in self-help is to be conducted, and which, with few exceptions, are more and more acted upon as the methods of the collective evangelical mission. For example, in Sierra Leone, Liberia, and perhaps also in the Sandwich and some other South Sea Islands, the zeal in this direction has been somewhat too precipitate.

But another charge which has been made with reference to native assistants we shall not leave unnoticed, and that because, we are sorry to say, it is not entirely without foundation. "Many of these assistants," it is said, "are induced to enter the service of the mission only because they receive pay from the mission treasury, and so the independence of these people is of the most doubtful character." It is no design of ours to paint as beautiful what is not beautiful. Undoubtedly, in the appointment of mission assistants there has not always and everywhere been a sufficient regard to prudence and economy; and it may well be that many natives have "made a gain of godliness." We cannot in this place enter upon a detailed exposure of this evil, which, besides, can never and nowhere be entirely avoided. Let us call attention to the essay, *The Bible-office of the Elder in its bearing on Modern Missions*. We confine ourselves here to one remark. Even the native labourer is worthy of his hire; but this hire should have a proper proportion to the customary modes of life of the natives; and wherever it is at all attainable, should not come from the home funds of the mission, but should be contributed by the converts themselves, as even the heathen provide for their priests. The more this simple principle of mission praxis is universally adopted—as it is, in fact, followed already in a wide circuit—so much the sounder will be the institution of native helpers, and so much the more influential, not only for the extension of the Gospel, but also for the culture-life of the natives. In this way the danger which threatens the native helpers, of greediness, self-conceit, and denationalisation, will be as much as

possible diminished, and a stimulus will be given to their countrymen to exert all their mental and physical powers in order to provide the means which are necessary for the maintenance of a native ministry.

But the educational leaven which this native ministry is among their own countrymen, even for their intellectual life, cannot, as it seems to us, be too highly estimated. We are, indeed, not at all blind admirers of the high scientific teaching which the native helpers receive in many seminaries for preachers. We cannot altogether get rid of the impression that something is often grafted on which does not become an inward possession, and is only superfluous ballast, so far as the office in view is concerned. Thus, for example, we hold the teaching of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, which is given in many of these schools, to be premature. Even English would be better omitted in many cases, and we wish German were altogether proscribed. Whereto serves this load of tongues? It not only distresses the poor natives, and lays upon them a burden which they cannot bear as yet, but it puts an arrest upon their healthy mental development, embarrasses them, deprives them of their simple naturalness, their sound judgment and mother-wit, and puffs them up.

Probably they do not learn any of these languages so that they really master them; and suppose they did get more than a smattering of Greek and Hebrew, and suppose that some were actually able to read the Bible without help in the original, were it educationally wise, with this view, to make subjects of instruction obligatory, which from the nature of things must be reserved

for times of riper development? It is, as we shall show more fully further on, one of the greatest drawbacks due to our modern cultural pre-eminence, that we seldom have sufficient self-denial not to wish to convey the *fruits* of our intellectual life, without more to do, to places where a sound pedagogic would first scatter the *seed*.

We go further. We do not altogether advocate any systematic schooling of the native helpers. The men who are selected as such will certainly be much better prepared for their offices by association and private instruction on the part of certain missionaries, than by a long and systematic school curriculum, unnatural to their habits and to their age. It is not a great amount of information that makes them expert in their offices, but their qualification as witnesses for Christ, in connection with the natural gift of aptness to teach, is their Christian character. Excessive knowledge will be to them an armour in which they will comport themselves as awkwardly as when one lays aside his simple sling and stone.

Thus we are utterly indisposed, with the educational enthusiasts, to advocate a method which might screw up the natives at once to the height of our gymnasial and university standards. But just as little is it in our thoughts to grant a license to ignorance. We only advocate that the training be natural. Manifestly the native assistants must stand on a higher level of intellectual and spiritual acquirement than their countrymen; they must be their teachers and educators. Not only must they all be able to read and write, but their

speech must be powerful; they must also in some measure master the substance of the Bible, and possess the otherwise necessary elementary knowledge. Still, the simpler, more natural and sounder their instruction is, the more really portable, mastered, and possessed by their own minds it is, so much more advantageously can it be employed for others. Show-learning has a very doubtful value anywhere, and in the mission-field at least we should resist it with all our might. We must of course in this matter guard against pernicious generalisations. One thing is not suitable for all.

The measure of the instruction of the native agents must be proportionate to the elevation of the people among whom they are to work. The higher this is, the higher must that be. Thus in India, China, and Japan we need more highly-educated native teachers and preachers, than, *e.g.*, in the South Sea Islands or in West Africa. But everywhere the ascent will be gradual, and generations must pass ere the standard of the training schools approach that of similar institutions at home.

But the wiser and the more educationally proper is the instruction we provide for the native agents, so much the higher may we estimate their importance for the culture-life of the people who are under the influence of the mission. We do not conceal from ourselves that with many thousands of these native agents the case must be, as the Inspector of the Gossner Mission after his visitation-tour plainly stated with respect to not a few of the Kohl catechists, namely, that "they by no means correspond with the reasonable expectations which,

from our point of view, might be formed of their knowledge;" and that we must not judge of the great mass of them by some prominently accomplished men, such as S. Crowther, Johnston, Tiyo Soga, Joel Balu, &c. Still, these thousands with their education, altogether scanty according to our notions, but greatly superior to that of their countrymen, are a leaven among their people, which even for the intellectual life is a mightier power than all foreign elements. Education, like Christianity, will really take root among a people only when natives are at its bearers and workers. It is in the nature of things that their activity be defective at first; but the more the intellectual training grows like the mustard-seed and permeates the people like the leaven, the more real will it be. It holds good in this, "Good things take time;" and "the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and is patient until he receive the morning and the evening rain" (James v. 7).

We come now to that department in which the cultural influence of the mission is most directly and most fundamentally manifested—the moral department. It is an open and visible fact in our home relations, that mere civilization, with all its mechanism and its comforts, has no power to render people happy or to ennoble them. So it shows itself utterly incapable of this among the heathen nations. The history of all times shows no example of this, that mere civilization has been the means of elevating again a sunken people. Even the

impartation of knowledge, which is so much overprized in our day, and almost put in the place of religion, does not possess this faculty. It was like a draught from a fresh spring to read this confession recently in a published document of a German University—that of Greifswald—in its well-known address to the Emperor William. The mission would be doing a work of very doubtful value were it only bringing civilization and knowledge to the heathen. But its cultural ability is far deeper and more real. Through the Gospel which it proclaims it plants a new sentiment, and with it a new morality. Here lies the true heart-point of the culture-organism of a people's life, and with reference to this point the mission works without essential aid. Colonial governments may contribute by their laws to the reforming of many evils, but they are incapable of producing a better morality proceeding from an inward change of sentiment, unless at the same time they take the forces of the Gospel into their service. There can be no law given which can give life.

We begin our survey of the department of the moral or the moralising influences of the mission, by stating a fact which is of prime importance for culture—viz., that it is the Gospel of Christ that has brought true and universal HUMANITY into the world. Neither the ancient nor the modern heathenism knows aught of the real dignity of man; and hence, even when it is in possession of civilization, it lacks the universal respect for men and love to men. The right and the value of personality, of personality simply, the loving care even for the little and the feeble, are things unknown to it. But without the

recognition of universal human dignity, and of the right of simple personality, even of the least, there is no real humanity.

They are magnificent, world-transforming thoughts, culture-principles of exceeding comprehensiveness, which the Gospel of Christ expresses with reference to this single point. By God's causing His only-begotten Son to become man, in order by Him to make men His own children, He has not only shown to men a love beyond all conception, but has also imparted to them an honour and dignity, a nobility, than which no higher can be conceived. Could the angels feel envy, they might envy men this honour. What a value must the individual souls, even of the poorest and most sunken men, have in the eyes of God, when over their salvation, as the Saviour assures us, all heaven holds a festival of joy (Luke xv. 10). In Christ Jesus, God is our Father, and we all constitute with one another a family, in which are none but brothers and sisters. With God there is in truth no respect of persons (Acts x. 34). Here there is "neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28). What a magnificent idea of humanity is this! And when, with this *magna charta* of humanity before their eyes, prophets of our time come forward and declare that Christianity is the enemy of humanity, it is no less absurd than it would be to charge upon the sun that it is the maker of darkness.

Now the more the Gospel of Christ is proclaimed in its Biblical purity, and believingly accepted, the more powerfully are its ideas of humanity displayed. In the

apostolic and post-apostolic age, they were exhibited most manifestly and most powerfully in the social life of men; in the Middle Ages they only very slowly and imperfectly obtained prevalence; in the modern mission, which stands on the point of view of the Reformation, they exhibit their power again more influentially and more distinctly. As in the apostolic time, so also now, the mission in all places lays hold of the poor, the oppressed, and the sunken, and strives to elevate them as much as is possible. As the Saviour once indicated His Messiahship to the dispirited John by the sign that "the Gospel was preached to the poor," so does the mission authenticate itself in a similar way as a real work. As then, so also now, the kingdom of God is not built from the top downward, but from the base upward. We know well that on this account people contemptuously shrug their shoulders, and with the old anti-Christian Celsus scoff at the "weavers, tailors, and tanners," which the modern mission also has in its churches. But it occurs to us that this scoffing harmonises but badly with the humanity, whose apostles the representatives of the modern view in opposition to Christianity boast themselves to be. Is not the material, mental, and moral elevation of the lower classes of the people of extreme importance for the culture-life of a nation? So it does not look well for humanity, when, on the ground of the new-fashioned law of the "struggle for existence," scarcely a slave's part is assigned to most of the so-called nature-peoples, as beings of a lower type, in the culture-history of mankind;¹⁸ when their civilization is declared to be a Utopian enthusiasm, and on the other hand the most

refined persecution, yea, the extermination of them, calls forth no word of horror. People speak contemptuously of the fact that the mission obtains its chief results among the nature-peoples. It appears to us that those who speak thus give a blow in the face to their own representations of humanity, and afford to the Gospel of Christ the testimony that it alone teaches and practises universal respect and love towards men. People may make as many witticisms as they will as to the cost to the mission of the salvation of a Kaffir's soul; notwithstanding it is more humane to be at some cost for the salvation of barbarians than to scoff at them. This scoffing perplexes us the less, because our efforts on behalf of humanity have in fact had surprising results—results which are sought for in vain in the case of the modern forces of civilization. Even a quarter of a century ago the geographer Meinicke wrote: "It is scarcely possible to deny the extraordinary importance of the missionary efforts of our time; they are as yet in reality in their infancy; yet it is certain that they will wholly transform the nature and the relations of the unchristian peoples, and will thereby produce one of the most magnificent and most colossal revolutions that human history contains."

But to leave off general reflections. As a special instance of the transformation effected by the mission in the domain of the moral life, we shall begin with a manifest and obvious fact, which not even our fanatical adversaries can deny—the conservation of human life. To all heathens the statement is more or less applicable, "Their feet are swift to shed blood." How many human sacri-

fices are demanded by the worship of the gods, how many by witchcraft and superstition, how many by cannibalism and despotism, how many by abortion and child-exposure, how many by inhuman war-usages, and by other cruelties and unmercifulness !

During the stay of the German expedition on the Loango coast a frightful epidemic broke out, which carried off many of the natives. "Everywhere in the neighbourhood sounded day and night the incantations of the magicians to banish the sickness, the dull sound of the wooden drums, frequently intermingled with the long-drawn wail of mourning families, the crack of muskets, and all the usual tumult connected with the burying of the dead." Even the principal chief of the coast, Muboma. Liumba of Yanga, succumbed to the disease, in consequence, according to universal opinion, of the evil influence of witchcraft. There was consequently a *palaver* held, in order to discover the guilty one, upon whom, according to the customs of the country, death must be inflicted. And what did the members of the Loango expedition do ? "We soon ascertained"—writes one of them, who pictures the *palaver* very graphically—"that several persons, particularly various chiefs of the district—we could not but perceive the political intrigues—as well as wives of the dead man, were accused. We, of course, refrained from interposing in any injudicious way in their favour. We were neither called, nor had we the power, to fight against peculiarities, which, being intertwined with the whole views of a people, cannot be separately reformed." Without passing any criticism upon this statement, which very forcibly

reminds us of the "icicle adhering to the roof of the temple of toleration," and which yet gives doubtless a true account of the motives which led to the resolution, we shall confront these representatives of science with two missionaries, who in quite similar circumstances acted directly oppositely ; and we shall confidently leave to the reader to decide whether they thereby incurred a charge of injudiciousness, or whether they did a laudable work of humanity. The first of these missionaries is the well-known bishop of the Niger Mission, S. Crowther. On one of his visitations, the black bishop came to Osamare, "where the very barbarous superstition prevails as to the witchcraft of old women, which has cost many of them their lives. When a woman is accused of witchcraft by any priest in the interior Ibo country, she must infallibly die, even if she is the wife of a king or of a rich man. The accused, in order to prove their innocence, must submit to the divine judgment of a poisoned draught, which, in nine cases out of ten, results in death." Before this, the black missionary, During, had, by his intervention, saved such a poor woman from death, which had given courage to the Prince Olodi soon after to take the part of his mother successfully, when she was to have submitted to the ordeal. During Crowther's stay a charge of witchcraft was brought against the sister of the war-minister Odogu, who, being an attendant on the Christian worship, was determined also to rescue the unfortunate woman from the ban of the ancestral prejudice. The affair had caused great commotion among the people. Then the bishop preached on Gen. v. 5. In his sermon he explained in pointed

language that old age gives no ground for a charge of witchcraft, that it is a murderous barbarity to accuse one's own mother of witchcraft, and so to procure her death at the age of fifty or sixty years. Then he told in moving words that his own mother was still alive, that she was cared for by grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and that no one thought of taking her for a witch, though she was about eighty years old. After this address the bishop appealed to the individual chiefs and their counsellors, earnestly impressing upon them to put a stop to the barbarous custom, and he had the satisfaction of being assured, by some at least, that his word had "gone deep into their ears."

It is self-evident that wherever Christian communities are formed, heathen ordeals, the offering of human sacrifices at the beginning of any undertaking, the killing of slaves and of wives to accompany the dead into the other world—customs which are universally prevalent, and not in West Africa only—it is self-evident that they must cease when the Gospel of Christ begins to become a power.

The second example leads us to the Fiji Islands, at the time of the beginning of the mission there. A chief had died, and it was intended to strangle one of his wives in accordance with the ancestral custom. Mr. Hunt, the missionary, who had got information of this intention, immediately went to the house in which the revolting act was to be perpetrated, explained, without regard to the danger which he incurred, the cruelty as well as the immorality of the design, spoke of the value of human life, the benevolent customs of the Gospel, &c.

“The house was full of women and children, who were to assist at the murderous scene. The poor widow sat apart upon the sheet which was to be her shroud. Her body was anointed with oil, and she wore new clothes. Hunt addressed himself to the woman, and told her what a crime she would be guilty of if she voluntarily gave up her life in this way. He adjured her to remain in life, showed her her children, and in their name entreated her to live, in order to love and care for them. But the woman showed impatience and displeasure. ‘If you do not strangle me,’ she declared, ‘I will be burned alive, or I will kill myself.’ It was an exciting scene, especially when the executioners entered to perform their bloody service. Hunt did his utmost also with these dark men, but they persisted in contemptuous silence. Then some one whispered to the missionary that a present would propitiate the barbarians. He ran to his house to bring a walrus tusk, while one of his colleagues remained. Immediately the executioners set themselves to their work. They dragged the woman, notwithstanding her protestations, into another house, and when Hunt succeeded in pressing into it, he found the poor victim of barbarous heathen customs at the last gasp.” This time, indeed, the interference of the missionary was unsuccessful; but the story is one of the thousand proofs of the greatness of the difficulties and the dangers with which the missionaries had, and still have, to contend, and brings into so much clearer light the transformation which is being gradually effected. If we consider attentively the nature of this transformation, we find most of the most prominent features of the Fijian

character more or less completely obliterated. Cannibalism is completely extinct, and child-murder has ceased in like manner. Human life is no longer recklessly squandered, and the strict administration of a law founded upon God's Word takes the place of private revenge, whereby murder was avenged by murder. Of course it is unreasonable to suppose, as some people do, that civilization can suddenly force itself upon a barbarous people.

But far greater than our astonishment at the behaviour of the scientific travellers on the Loango coast is our indignation when we read the following vindication of the exposure and murder of children, after the Spartan fashion of killing weakly children at their birth, by the author of the latest *Culture-History in its Natural Development*. "A method, the humanity of which may well be disputed, but which undoubtedly has for its result, according to the law of selection, the rearing of a beautiful and strong and healthy race of men. We see here a quite a notable example of artificial improvement of the human race, since only the perfectly healthy and strong children are allowed to live, and they alone are permitted to have offspring." Apart from the fact that in this, as in so many other cases, the fanaticism of the Darwinian doctrine makes men blind to the truth, since it cannot be decided immediately after birth, whether the child is strong and beautiful or not, and a perfectly sound offspring is not a necessary result of the strength of the parents—what sort of culture is that which is literally founded on blood and murder? Doubtless, Herr von Hellwald will also find grounds, in his

system of natural development, to vindicate the child-murder which is still universally practised by many heathen peoples without compunction, and to vilify the missionaries who are striving with all their might to save infant life. What must become of the heathen if, instead of the Gospel of Christ, the views of this culture-champion were brought to them! What is becoming of us, even the slowest of apprehension are gradually beginning to apprehend.

But let us leave these dark pictures, and return to the more lightsome works of the mission-culture. As on the Niger and in the Fiji Islands, so everywhere, the mission is the champion of humanity. The firmer and deeper it strikes its roots, so much the more effective is the protection of human life which it affords. We pass over, as being universally known, the impulse which the mission has given to the suppression of infant-sacrifice and widow-burning in India, child-exposure in China, &c. In the Polynesian Islands it has achieved perhaps its most astonishing triumph of this kind. "Christianity has the undeniable merit," says R. Oberlander, who is by no means prepossessed in favour of the mission, "that it has suppressed cannibalism, human sacrifice, and child-murder, ameliorated the family life, restrained drunkenness, and wherever it has got a footing, has led to orderly establishment of rights; to say nothing of the fact that it has put an end to the continual wars in the islands. The Protestant missionaries have manifestly exerted the greatest influence on the culture of the natives. Often have the natives acknowledged to them that they would have been destroyed if they had not

come to them." A man who has so accurate a knowledge of Polynesian matters as Professor Gerland declares, notwithstanding all the objections which he has to make to the methods of the mission: "As hitherto the missionaries have the greatest merit, so far as the nature-peoples are concerned, so when we inquire respecting the future, our eyes fall first upon the missionaries. When we consider that the Polynesians, it may well be said, owe their preservation hitherto to them, that the Hottentots and many American tribes have only and exclusively by their means had an opportunity of experiencing the good effects of civilization, we cannot too earnestly wish that their blessed work may extend ever wider." Meinicke, both in his earliest work, *The Peoples of the South Seas and Christianity*, and in his latest masterpiece (2 vols.), *The Islands of the Pacific*, gives overwhelming proof that "the bloody wars of former days have almost entirely ceased, and where such have taken place among the converts, they have been conducted without the profitless cruelty which always accompanied them in heathen times." "Nowhere," says he, "has the influence of conversion in this respect been more striking and more extensive than in New Zealand, where formerly the greatest barbarity and savagery prevailed. The incessant wars and massacres, the strangling of slaves, the eating of human flesh, have been abolished, through the missionaries alone, so far as their influence reaches; and even were their method essentially wrong, and their undertaking a failure, they must be honoured for this." The English consul Prichard expresses himself as follows: "Among the many happy results which the introduction

of the Gospel has produced in these islands, no one is more remarkable than the suppression of the constant state of war. The weapons of war and instruments of death may now be seen hanging from the rafters of their humble cottages, covered with dust and become unusable, or they are converted into tools of industry, or they are given to visitors as useless curiosities. Formerly the natives brought their offerings with terrible strictness to their heathen altars; now they rejoice in the reconciled God whom they have in Christ. Many who formerly seldom met except on the battle-field, full of mutual enmity, now live in peace with one another as brethren in Christ. When the Wesleyan missionaries settled among the cannibal Fijians, they found them in the lowest state of degradation. Soon after Mr. Hunt's arrival, the heathen dragged forward some dead bodies, which they laid down in front of his house, with the intention of roasting and eating them. When the missionary shut his windows that he might not be compelled to see this horrid sight, a chief ordered them to be opened, and declared that he must make himself acquainted with their customs since he was going to live among them. The captain of an American ship-of-war, who heard of this reception, endeavoured to persuade Mr. Hunt to leave. But he declared that he would remain and risk his life."

Darwin also throws his weighty testimony into the scale: "The slanderers forget, or rather they will not consider, that human sacrifice, the power of an idolatrous priesthood, a systematically refined sensuality which has no parallel in all the world, child-murder—that all this

is put away and abolished, and that dishonesty and intemperance and impurity have been to a great extent lessened through the introduction of Christianity. It is the basest ingratitude, on the part of the writers of travels, to forget this. Were it their lot to stand in expectation of suffering shipwreck on some unknown coast, they would direct a fervent prayer to heaven, that the teaching of the missionaries might have reached its inhabitants."

Even in quarters where the mission has not been able to collect large Christian churches, the natives have been humanised under the influence of the missionaries. Thus, our countryman Geissler, who, with heroic perseverance laboured for fourteen years on the N.W. coast of New Guinea, despite many discouragements, great privations, and manifold sufferings—relates that in the year 1859 the shipwrecked crew of the *Constant*, after spending sixty-nine days at sea in a small boat, and being completely exhausted, landed on the coast of New Guinea, got a friendly reception and were supplied with provisions by the natives; whereas, two years earlier, the same people had slain other shipwrecked sailors; and in 1868, they exercised similar compassion in ransoming from their more barbarous countrymen a party of stranded Javanese, and handing them over to the care of the missionary.

In the foregoing instances it has been already indicated that the greater humanity implanted by Christianity has been maintained upon the whole, even in times of passionate excitement, in which the temptation to return to the old cruelties has been specially great,

as, for example, in war times. In consideration of the importance of this point, it seems necessary for us to enter into some details. It is well known that in consequence of the sale of certain lands in New Zealand, a bloody war broke out in 1860, and raged, with some intervals, till 1864. "In the year 1825 the chief Hongi in one onslaught killed about 1000 men, whose bodies were roasted in a heap and eaten. In the above-mentioned war (1860-4), on the contrary, no case of this kind has come to our knowledge. Cannibalism was universally practised at the earlier period. The usual name for slaves was *mokai*, a term by which dogs and pigs were also designated, because its meaning was 'creatures which serve as food!'" Now no man is so named or regarded. While our soldiers were encamped at Gate Pah on the east coast, they were suddenly surprised by the natives, and fled in panic-fright, so that the officers tried in vain to stop them. General Booth was mortally wounded, but lived long enough to tell that they refused to kill him as he requested them to do, and with the assurance that they would do no harm to the prisoner, they carefully carried him and laid him in front of a house. When he begged for some water, a Maori brought it to him, and was paid for this service of love by the loss of his life, because, in tendering it, he had to expose himself to the fire of our soldiers. Nothing was taken from the officers but their swords; the gold chain and watch which General Booth wore were delivered up to his relatives. Even the *Ausland* tells a similar tale of the time of what was called the Hau-Hau disturbance:—"Cannibalism appears to have

gradually become even physically repulsive to the Maoris. Not long ago a man called Sullivan was murdered, or, according to Maori notions, executed. He had been warned not to make any encroachment on the territory of the natives, and had, notwithstanding the threatened punishment, disregarded it in the making of a road. He was thereupon put to death by the natives, and his heart was sent to headquarters to the king, who immediately ordered it to be buried. It thus appears that, even among the Hau-Haus, cannibalism is extinct." In the face of this it seems—to put it mildly—not very humane, when Dr. Buchner, in his *Travels* already mentioned, expresses himself thus: "I am altogether unable to turn up my eyes in horror at cannibalism, as many people consider it proper to do. The abomination of cannibalism consists, in my judgment, only in the arbitrary putting to death of individuals by those in power, not in the eating of the bodies, which probably had its origin in a physiological necessity, through the want of the larger animals!" (Be it noticed, in passing, that in the *Ausland* for 1871, p. 198, it is stated, in opposition to Dr. Buchner, that the anthropophagous preference which he ascribes to the aristocrats is altogether unproved.) In the Kaffir war, also, of 1877–8, it is recorded that even the heathen chief Sandili gave orders that "no woman and no child, and no private man among the whites, should be put to death, and that no mission-station should be destroyed, for he had no war with them;" so that far less cruelty and far less destruction occurred than in previous wars—a humanity which, even on the testimony of the reporter in the

Globe, "can only be regarded as a fruit of the ideas of humanity which have influenced even the morals of the heathen, as a new atmosphere that has arisen, in consequence of mission operations."

As to the power which the Gospel exerts over such barbarians as have embraced it in lively faith, only a single example from the South Seas, and of the most recent date. Shortly before his visit to England, the missionary, Mr. Taylor, assembled the New Zealanders who had become believers through his means. The religious farewell service, held in the closely-packed church, closed with the communion of the Lord's Supper. When the first row were kneeling in a semicircle around the table of the Lord, a man suddenly rose and went back through the whole length of the church to his seat. After some time he returned and partook of the holy sacrament. After the close of the service, the missionary questioned the islander respecting this singular behaviour, and received the following answer:—"When I approached the table I did not know beside whom I should have to kneel. Then I suddenly saw that I was beside the man who some years ago slew my father and drank his blood, and whom I then swore I would kill the first time that I should see him. Now, think what I felt when I suddenly knelt beside him. It came upon me with terrible power, and I could not prevent it, and so I went back to my seat. Arrived there, I saw in the spirit the upper sanctuary, and seemed to hear a voice: 'Thereby shall all men know that ye are My disciples, if ye have love one to another.' That made a deep impression upon me, and at the same time I thought

that I saw another sight—a Cross and a Man nailed thereon—and I heard him say, ‘Father, forgive them: they know not what they do.’ Then I went back to the altar.”

The mission not only operates towards the respecting and sparing of human life, but generally for the furtherance of bodily wellbeing. In no case can their most determined enemy reproach them with acting like the priest and the Levite, who passed by without helping the half-dead man who had fallen among murderers. “It admits of no doubt,” says the anthropologist Waitz, who is by no means an uncritical friend of missions, “that upon the whole the work of the missionaries has furthered the bodily weal of the people of the South Seas far more than it has been prejudicial to it.” He has mainly in view the indirect furtherance which has been effected by the moral elevation. “It must be confessed that with the introduction of Christianity into the South Sea Islands many of the gross vices which we have specified as causes of the destruction of their inhabitants have been entirely banished, many others have been diminished in no inconsiderable measure, so that the depopulation which they were producing has received a certain check. The bloody wars, the cannibalism, human sacrifice, and child-murder, have almost wholly ceased, and it must be stigmatised as a gross calumny, proceeding from party spirit, when, for example, a French voyager has striven to disseminate the view that the terrible depopulation of the Sandwich Islands must be accounted for by the strict laws and the systems of intimidation which have arisen and been maintained

under the influence of Protestant missionaries; that the women fled to the hills and killed their illegitimate children in order to avoid the intolerably severe punishments which would otherwise have befallen them. Rather, if justice is to be done, should it be acknowledged that, besides the well-known blessed efforts of the missionaries for the material welfare of the islanders, their anxiety for the suppression of drunkenness and excesses of all sorts, and for the encouragement of industry, deserves all praise."

But apart from this indirect sanitary care, which, as a Divine blessing, accompanies moral improvement, the work of the missionaries contributes directly to the furtherance of the bodily wellbeing of barbarous as well as of civilized heathens. In his learned monograph on the *Dying-out of the Nature-Peoples*, Gerland, in two chapters—one on the treatment of the sick among the nature-peoples, and the other on the small care of the nature-peoples for their bodily welfare—shows on what a low stage sanitary treatment stands among these peoples; and, *mutatis mutandis*, a similar state of things may be found among the so-called civilized heathen nations, especially with respect to the treatment of the sick. Wherever our missionaries have come, in Greenland or in the Fiji Islands, among the negroes of West Africa, or among the Hindus, Chinese, and Japanese, they have afforded medical aid to the sick. "During cholera epidemics, for example, in Tinnevely," writes Dr. Gunter, on the ground of special experience, in opposition to the calumny of the well-known opponent of missions, Langhaus—"all the churches have been con-

verted into hospitals, and the missionary has given medicine to all the sick, and has cooked for all the hungry. In the neighbourhood of a mission, whenever an inquisitive child scalds himself by upsetting the rice-pot, whenever a snake-bite or a sudden wound occurs, the missionary is sent for. He has to betake himself to reading and inquiry; perhaps in the necessity he finds new medicines: and his homeopathic pills, or experiments with the water-cure, &c., attract the attention even of the physicians at home, attached as they are to tradition. In short, he is a man, and as such endeavours to be of services to his neighbour." In all the larger cities of the civilized heathen world, *e.g.*, Peking, Canton, Tokio, Madras, &c., the mission partly maintains very important hospitals. In China alone there are now eighteen such, with twenty-four dispensaries, and thirty-three young people who are being trained for this profession. But among the barbarians, where the healing art essentially consists in the most immoral witchcraft, the missionaries render medical service on an extensive scale. They are afraid of no contagion, they treat small-pox and cholera patients, and even take care of lepers. But not content with furnishing the missionaries generally with a *dilettantish* knowledge of medicine, there are being sent a continually increasing number of university-educated medical missionaries, of whom there are up to this time at least eighty—perhaps 100—and among them there are men of considerable eminence. There is even published a special magazine on this branch of missionary agency: *Medical Missions at Home and Abroad*, with the motto, *εὐαγγελιζόμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες πανταχοῦ*; and

there are special medical missionary societies. Just now it is in contemplation to send medically-educated ladies, especially to India, in order to afford medical aid in their times of sickness to the female sex who are immured in the Zenanas. Without entering here upon any criticism on the medical action of the missionaries, we only remark that it is not merely the matter of medical aid which has saved the lives of thousands, and that through this aid the messengers of the Gospel win for themselves the confidence of the natives; but at the same time they become teachers of mercy, and under the influence of their example the treatment of the sick becomes more reasonable and more humane.

As a further instance of the humanity exercised and extended by means of the mission, the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery should be adduced. We do not, of course, mean to give the mission the exclusive credit of all that has been done in the course of this century for the healing of what Dr. Livingstone calls "the world's open sore." But, however great may be the part which liberalism and policy have borne in the removal of this scandal, by which the Christianly-civilized nations have disgraced themselves for centuries, yet they were especially the friends of missions, who, as champions of emancipation, prepared the way for its ultimate accomplishment. We have but to mention Wilberforce, with whose name the suppression of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery are inseparably associated, and who was a decided Christian, and a warm friend of missions—or to study the history of the West Indies' mission, and the unwearied efforts of a Burchell

and a Knibb—or to advert to the hostilities to which the missionaries were subjected in the West Indies and the Cape on the part of the slaveholders, who saw in them the special ringleaders of emancipation—and it will be impossible to undervalue the prominent influence which the spiritual combatants of the mission cast into the scale towards the settlement of the slave question. Even the clever political move of Lincoln would scarcely have been possible; had not the Christian spirit of North America, especially through its powerful elevation in consequence of the great awakenings of 1839 and 1857, prepared for it. However little it may be doubtful that the mediæval church, in its relation to slavery, often assumed a position unworthy of Christian humanity, as little can it be disputed by its opponents that the mission-church of the Reformation has treated the slave question in the spirit, if not always with the sobriety, of the apostolic mission. A few exceptions, such as have occurred among the Boers of the Cape Colony and in the Southern States of North America, where greed and dogmatic narrowness have led to the biblical vindication of slavery, cannot shake the truth of this assertion. Of course, there has generally occurred, as has been already remarked, some disturbance, when the hour of freedom has struck for the slaves held in Christian lands, as this has been at the last brought about by the authoritative behest of the power of law. But the mission-inspector Zahn rightly remarks: “The great diseases of mankind are seldom healed by their being skilfully brought to full ripeness and then removed. The selfish folly of some who will not acknowledge the evil, and the well-meaning

impatience of others who cannot quickly enough remove it, generally produce this result, that, instead of a wholesome reformation with its blessings, a revolution ensues with its painful commotions." We may blame the mission that it was deficient in educational wisdom, but we cannot reproach it with not having represented the human rights of the slaves. It is notable how, in these last years, the page has been turned. Formerly it was often a liberalism, detached from the Spirit of the Gospel, that took to itself the credit of fighting for the human rights of the slaves, and made it a reproach against the Church that she did not altogether keep step with her in her march of emancipation ; but now, since the Darwinian "struggle for existence" has been introduced by the special science of the day into the culture-historical development of mankind, the matter stands so that liberalism undertakes the vindication of slavery, scornfully laughs at the mission for its striving for emancipation, and registers, with a sort of a malicious joy, every disappointed hope of its accomplishment. But it is not only in Christian lands and colonies that the mission stood up for the human rights of the slaves ; it is working with all energy for their liberation also in the heathen and Mohammedan world. The magnificent exertions of Livingstone, whose eloquence, born of compassion, stirred up Europe to the liberation of its black subjects, not less than the powerful voice of Wilberforce had done before, are in so fresh and universal remembrance that it is not necessary to describe them particularly. Mainly in consequence of the impulse given by this indefatigable friend of the slaves, the British Government have con-

cluded a treaty with the Sultan of Zanzibar, and by means of their cruisers have at least made the trade of the East African slave-dealers more difficult. But the mission is not yet sitting with folded hands. Not contented with the fact that at Frere Town on the east coast a foundation has been laid for a colony of liberated negroes, similar to those which already exist on the west coast, she sent expeditions also into the interior of the dark continent, with the view of laying the axe to the root of the evil by the establishment of mission-stations, as well as the introduction of fair commerce and manufactures. By these undertakings the wounds of a thousand years will not be quickly healed, but we have no doubt that with them the dawn of the sun of freedom has risen upon Central Africa. Wherever in the modern mission-field Christianity attains a certain power, there slavery ceases. Thus, for example, the Basel mission, "without any help from the English Government, has accomplished the cessation of slavery in her Christian communities, by requiring that every Christian who possessed slaves should give them letters of manumission, in return for an engagement to pay a fixed sum for ransom." In New Zealand the universal sentiment of the obligation of Christian humanity has abolished slavery without money payment, while England has had to pay £20,000,000 to British subjects in her colonies, in order to be able to emancipate the slaves; and in America emancipation became possible only through a bloody civil war. In Tonga the simple narrative of what England had done for the abolition of slavery was sufficient to induce the king to present all his slaves with

their freedom. In Madagascar a proclamation by the Queen—who, as is well known, has become a Christian—on the 20th of June, 1877, decreed that all slaves imported into the island should be set free. Now the abolition of the existing domestic slavery also is expected. Meantime ordinances have been passed which seek to secure the most humane treatment possible for the native slaves, and to place the buying and selling of them under the strictest control of the Government.

More directly than the emancipation of the slaves, the mission effects the deliverance of woman from the degrading position which she occupies everywhere outside of Christianity, and the social and moral elevation of the female sex. One well acquainted with this matter, who has written a special monograph on the subject, speaks unreservedly of a “slavery of the female sex as the one feature which distinguishes heathenism and the religion of Mohammed, in their moral and social life, from Christianity, in the Islands of the South Sea, all over Asia and Africa, and as far as the primitive forests of America, and from New Zealand to the North Pole.” “It were, of course,” he goes on to say, “foolishness to suppose that the lot of this weaker half of mankind can be the same among all peoples and races, under the influences of all religious and social arrangements. Rather, we find women now imprisoned in the female apartments as a sport of man’s caprice, now moving freely in the market and the street, now brooding listlessly in dull existence, now excited and active in daily employments; here we see her scarcely touching the burdens of life with the tip of her finger, there dragging their whole weight like

a poor beast of burden. But one thing we always find, that she is excluded from the small education which man possesses, and is treated as the inferior part of mankind, while the Gospel proclaims aloud: 'Give due honour to the woman as the weaker vessel, and as fellow-heir of the grace of life.'"

Even among the classic culture-peoples of antiquity the full dignity of humanity was not accorded to woman. In the full and complete sense mankind consisted only of *men*. Therefore Christ has brought a twofold deliverance to woman—the common deliverance from the guilt and bondage of sin, and the special deliverance from the bondage of the man, and the privation of social rights. The Gospel makes man and woman equal; they are one in Christ. Christianity is in this matter the restoration of God's old ordinance, according to which the woman should be the help-meet of man, but not his servant or his slave. These principles have wrought a complete transformation in the female world, and exerted the deepest influences over the culture-life of the Christian peoples—influences which are of so much greater importance for married and domestic life, and for the education of children, as Christianity has also restored monogamy to its old holy right.

As formerly among the ancient Greeks, so also among the heathen culture-peoples of the present, women are almost entirely in a condition perfectly uneducated. The mission takes both sexes under its care, and establishes girls' and boys' schools. As the heathen custom in India does not permit the attendance of females of the higher rank in public schools, a special female mission has been

started, which sends female teachers into the female apartments—the Zenanas—in order to bring education, along with the light of the Gospel, into these dark places. A little while ago a Brahman, a lawyer of high position, said in a public meeting, “All honour to the great and good people who have exerted themselves to impart to us the blessing of female education. Without reference to our religious differences, we must confess that the missionaries of the Christian religion are at the same time the pioneers of every good work.” After overcoming many difficulties, there have now been established in India seminaries for female teachers. Professor Monier Williams, who has been already mentioned, who has had opportunities of becoming acquainted with these, writes thus in the *Contemporary Review*:—“In the matter of the training of native female teachers much has been done, especially by the C. M. S. in the *Sara-Tucker Institute* at Palamcottah. I visited this Institute at the beginning of last year (1877), and must bear testimony to the solidity of the work that is done there. They have already trained successfully a considerable number of native female teachers, and have stationed them in various districts of Tinnevely. They have succeeded in attracting girls of the higher castes into their best schools. Thus it is shown that by the energy of a few male and female missionaries the way is prepared for the education of the female sex in India.” In Madras, the mission of the Free Church of Scotland alone had in 1873 five day-schools for girls of the higher castes in the city, and four in the country, with an aggregate attendance of 876 scholars, who paid fees. In 1843, the first girls’

school began with nine scholars, who were with difficulty induced to attend by money and other rewards. In 1861 a beginning was made of charging fees, and twelve years later there were in Madras 200 scholars paying £60 a-year in fees. Thirty years ago it was told in Madras that the girls enticed into the schools by the missionaries were to be sold into Europe! Thus a great revolution has been effected. There are now girls' schools in most of the larger cities of India. In Ceylon also these receive a most appreciative testimony on the part of the Government officials. Although the statistical tables may at present show comparatively small numbers, there is a breach made in the fortress which brings its conquest, not into near, but into certain, prospect. What a revolution will ensue in the culture-life of India, China, and Japan, as soon as our means of education have been brought within the reach of the women of these lands; and what a new creation will accrue to the barbarous peoples when the female sex shall be brought under the influence of a regular education! It is not without reason asserted that the world is governed by the children; and it testified to great educational wisdom when Napoleon, in unconscious agreement with Pestalozzi, sought for the reformation of education by means of the mothers. The education of the future mothers is a main foundation for the education of the people, and thus the education of the female sex is a chief factor of the collective culture-life.

Not, indeed, education in knowledge alone. We need everywhere not learned, but simply educated and morally pure, pious mothers. A pious mother is a more blessed

educator than a learned one, and generally also a better wife. Manifestly, the mission works rightly in this direction first. Among most of the heathen peoples, especially those that are wholly uncivilized, there is little or no chastity among the girls. Among ourselves there is unchastity enough, but it is regarded as a crime, and must be concealed. But when the latest historian of culture, Herr von Hellwald, is not ashamed to say: "Prostitution is nought else than the consequence of the greater limitation, by monogamy, of the natural instinct which increasing culture demands, but whose gratification is an everlasting necessity to the human animal"—it is, indeed, an indication of his moral or rather immoral standpoint—(since *moral* is for him a mere sound), but it is no indication of public moral sentiment. The matter is otherwise in the heathen world, in which, moreover, "prostitution is by no means the consequence of the restriction of the instinct of nature by monogamy." There, universally, fornication is as little regarded as a sin as it was formerly among the ancient Greeks, and our missionaries have, as Paul had among the Corinthians (1 Cor. vi. 13), to awaken the conscience with respect to chastity. When once the sin is concealed, which was formerly no matter to be ashamed of, there is already a moral advance. But although the effectual suppression of it has not been attained to the extent that must be desired, the blame does not fall upon the missionaries, but—apart from the lust of the flesh, which is not overcome in the turning of a hand, where people are accustomed, in accordance with the old ancestral morals, to regard the evil as something indifferent—really upon the

immoral representatives of the Western civilization, who suppose that they have a right to deal with the unestablished female converts, along with their heathen sisters, as prostitutes. The facts in proof of this statement are so many in all quarters, that any special information were superfluous. Whenever travellers like Buchner, who shows his unmistakable preference for the *puris naturalibus*, praises, or rather blames, the modesty of the women of New Zealand, Fiji, and, with limitations, Hawaii, that is a more striking proof that the work of the missionaries has not been in vain, than when an American mission-inspector avouches it. But with the practice of chastity is everywhere associated a very real elevation of woman, the reflex influence of which must tell upon her surroundings; with it the self-respect of the woman grows, and the respect of husband and child for her; and not only the domestic, but also the public moral atmosphere is purified—to say nothing of this, that health and the increase of population are promoted, two points which are of the greatest importance for every people, but especially among the decreasing nature-peoples.

In relation to the intellectual and moral elevation of the female sex, the missionaries' wives are very influential helpers of their husbands. It is quite a common practice among our Romanist opposers to speak with contemptuous scorn of our married missionaries, and to commend the celibacy of theirs, not only as most meritorious "virginity," but also as a specially potent mission-method. We allow the merit and the virginity to speak for themselves; and we freely confess that in certain

circumstances the unmarried missionary has the advantage, over the married, of greater independence and facility of movement; but were these advantages much more considerable than they are, they would still be thrown into the shade by the greater blessings which the marriage of our missionaries brings, not only to themselves, but to the heathen and the converts among whom they labour.

It is well known that not only in India and China, but also among many barbarous peoples, the customs of the people preclude the intercourse of the male missionary with the female sex. There it is naturally the missionaries' wives who conduct this intercourse. "They exert within and without the house," says the article already quoted from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, "a sympathetic influence, which contributes much to the extension of the missions. Better suited than the men to deal with the women and the sick children, they win their hearts more easily than they by their ministrations. Barbarians can scarcely imagine an unmarried evangelist. When Catholic missionaries landed, along with Sisters of Mercy, on the South Sea Islands, the natives regarded these as the wives of the priests, and could by no means be brought to abandon this idea." The wife is more fitted than the husband to plant and to foster, by word and example, womanly propriety, decorum, habits of order and cleanliness; and the history of missions in all places furnishes proofs that in these departments the missionary's wife does a great and good pioneer service.

The practice of polygamy prevails extensively in heathendom, although the circumstances of the less

wealthy do not admit of their actually having many wives. There is no occasion for any proof of the demoralising effects of this institution, which does not less pervert the essential nature of marriage than it degrades woman, poisons the family life, and renders the training of children illusory. Now, although theoretically something may be said for a degree of tolerance of polygamy in a period of transition, on the ground of apostolic example, yet practically this forbearance has been of no use, but at the commencement of the mission the axe is laid at the root of polygamy as a practice absolutely irreconcilable with the Gospel. That has naturally had many harsh and disadvantageous consequences, especially that the acceptance of Christianity by a chieftain has been now and again prevented; but it has had the great advantage that the path has been cleared, and the heathen regard the introduction of monogamy as the manifest and necessary consequence of the acceptance of Christianity. With the introduction of monogamy, marriage straightway becomes a far firmer bond than it was before. *Mutatis mutandis*, it holds true of all heathens what the missionary Cousins relates of the people of Madagascar: —“In the heathen times the greatest laxity prevailed; and even marriage, although to a certain extent sanctioned, was but a slight restriction. An old proverb among the Malagassi says, ‘Marriage is not tied with a fast, but with a slipping knot, so that it can be easily loosed,’ and this is constantly practised. When an unchristian Malagassi wishes to divorce his wife, he has only to speak two words. It costs him no trouble; he has not to bring together a mass of proofs. He has not to

resort to a judge of matrimonial causes, but simply to say to his wife, 'Madam, I thank you.' It is evident that this frivolous separation comes to an end with monogamy, and that it not only affords to the woman a protection against arbitrary repudiation, but also elevates her position and her moral esteem. Only in monogamy has the wife a position worthy of her—a position of equality with her husband—and marriage is a consecrated moral life-communion. By its means a new spirit comes not only into the conjugal, but also into the family life. "Few things," says the Madagascar missionary just quoted, "have delighted me so much, during the two months since my return to England, as observing the influence which Christianity exerts over the home-life. In the good tone, the heartiness, the purity, the wise control, the universal order which we find in a Christian home, we have a striking picture of the power of Christianity. These are the fruits which have their origin in a Christian root, and which become appreciable and precious to one in Madagascar from their non-existence." And not in Madagascar only. In India, China, and Japan, there is equally wanting that inward, hearty, and lively communion of life which with us binds together the members of a family, and makes the home a state of happiness and the most intimate communion. Naturally, Christianity, when newly introduced, cannot all at once create the family sentiment and the family enjoyment which have hitherto been non-existent; but by the honourable position to which it elevates the wife, and the moral consecration which it imparts to marriage, it lays the foundation for them. But thereby again the

mission does a deed of culture which lays hold of the collective life of the people, since marriage and the family form the foundation-pillars of their social life among every culture-people.

With the removal of the degrading position of woman and of polygamy, the evil practice of the purchase of wives, which prevails among almost all nature-peoples, and is not unusual even among civilized heathen, is being gradually superseded. By this practice the wife is treated really as a vendable commodity—the position is assigned her of a domestic slave. The obstacles which his practice, formerly naturalised by centuries of custom, present to the mission which acts in opposition to it, are so much the greater, as covetousness has a great deal to do with it. “It is the great effort of fathers and mothers,”—it is said in a minute report on this matter in Zulu—and—“to bring their daughters as soon as possible to market, and to exhibit them to their purchasers in good condition, so as to increase as much as possible the number of their oxen and cows by the sale of them. The girls themselves are so little desirous of a change in their condition, and are so sunk in consequence of the degradation of their sex for many centuries, that they regard it as a disgrace not to be sold; and their vanity is flattered when their beauty or their tall and strong figure raises their price to a considerable number of cows. The husband consequently possesses a right of property in his wife, as much as he has in his spear or his waggon or his oxen, and he justifies the basest treatment of her on the ground that he has given his cows and oxen in payment for her.” The South African missionaries have

often taken counsel with one another in their general conferences as to the position which they must occupy in opposition to this degrading purchase and sale of wives. That it must be abolished, they are unanimous; they only differ as to the way in which this is to be effected. While some would prohibit it peremptorily by a law, others would leave it to the continually strengthening evangelical spirit to overcome it. Thus it is stated by the Scottish reporter just quoted: "The native Christians in the Wesleyan churches were not positively forbidden to sell their sisters and their daughters. On the other hand, a great proportion of the natives who have been gathered into the Church of Christ by the American Board have already given up the practice of wife-selling as sinful and heathenish." Without entering here upon any theoretic discussion, it is enough to remark that the native Christians, the more their hearts are renewed and their consciences enlightened, begin everywhere to regard it as an iniquity to traffic in their own flesh and blood, and that the firmer Christianity fastens its roots, this example will gradually renew the morals of the people.

The treatment of woman comes before us in another and not less important form in India, where, as is well known, girls are commonly married or betrothed in their infancy. It is again really the mission that has directed attention to these infant marriages, which have been hitherto forbidden by no law, and which yet are so scandalous, and which prevent the physical and mental development of the poor girls. Not content with teaching and warning, the Calcutta missionaries, in their Conference in 1877, addressed a petition to the Governor of

Bengal, apparently on the motion especially of the native professor in the Free Church Institution of Calcutta, Banerjya, who still earlier pleaded for a legislative settlement of this question. In this petition they asked for the appointment, in the first place, of a sort of Government commission, to collect the necessary statistical materials, so that the character of the evil might be accurately known, and more extensive opposition to it might be offered. Energetically and practically the Santal Christians have taken the matter in hand. When in April of last year Bishop Johnson visited for a confirmation service the station of Taldschari, which is under the superintendence of the C. M. S., a conference of elders was held under his presidency, in which the resolution which had previously been arrived at was affirmed—"that among the Santal Christians no marriage should take place unless the bridegroom had attained the age of 18 and the bride that of 16 years."

How sad the fate of women in India, who often become widows at a very early age, and who are regarded as dead in life, and how the mission strives to set free these poor girls, who are, as it were, buried alive, from the curse which lies upon them, and how it strives for the legalisation of the re-marriage of widows;—all this is so generally known that a mere advertence to it is sufficient.

Let us tarry a moment longer in India. There caste is still the great social chain which fetters the life of the community, "and holds them in a dwarfish, decrepit childhood," as a native Indian pastor expressed it. Even among the classes of the people who have been crammed with education by European unbelievers, the power of

caste is but little broken. "You know we have no longer any religious belief," said a learned Hindu to the missionary Leupolt; "one may believe what he will, provided only he keep his caste; our customs and our caste hold us together." "Caste is more than Hinduism," said a man of high caste who had embraced Christianity; and the native clergyman, formerly mentioned, adds: "Caste is something wholly different from what is understood elsewhere by social distinctions. These are grounded upon talent, education, power, riches; caste, on the other hand, depends exclusively on purity of birth. The proud and lofty position of the Brahman, his priestly right, his privilege of being the sole interpreter of the Veda, and all his other immunities, have their ground, not in moral or educational superiority, but only in his birth. And conversely, a Sudra may possess ever so superior moral qualities, education, strength, riches, yet he may not presume to put himself alongside of the most degraded and silly Brahman, and to eat with him." Not only is intercourse, not only is all intellectual emulation and striving laid under a chain, but lovelessness is formally sanctioned. "A proper caste-man would be kinder to a vulture, a cow, or even a serpent, than to a pariah who lies before him fainting with thirst or bleeding to death. The smallest contact with him is pollution. If a pariah come into his house, he not only drives him forth as an unclean leper, but he washes the floor, which his feet have made unclean, with cow-dung and water."¹⁹

Now, as has been already remarked, it is not indeed the mission alone that is striving to break this terrible

chain. The whole pressure of European civilization is helping powerfully to this end. For example, the railroad is a powerful underminer of the strength of caste. "When in former times one went on a journey or undertook a pilgrimage"—it was explained by a Hindu of high rank to the missionary, Leupolt—"he went with his gift to the astrologer, and inquired as to the fortunate termination of his journey. But now we have got to buy a time-table, and we know that the time for setting out is when the bell rings. While we are sitting in the railway carriage we grow hungry and thirsty; the Englishman pulls out his packet of provisions, and eats and drinks; but what can *we* do? There is no other alternative for us but to follow his example, and to eat in the carriage in his company. We are thirsty; what is to be done? Some one from the outside offers us water, but we have no time to ascertain whether the seller is a man of our own caste, so we give him the price and drink the glass of water; and now our Brahmans say that this is quite in accordance with our Shastras. But you need not ask where it is so written, for it is nowhere to be found."

Now, how stands the mission in relation to caste? There is perfect agreement that caste is a great social evil, and must be overthrown by the Gospel of Christ; but there are different views in regard to the way and manner of its overthrow. There are caste-stormers, and their number is very large, who would, so to speak, use the knife and cut off the ulcer at once, who therefore make the openly-declared breach of caste by eating with men of lower caste a condition of baptism. Others again

—and it appears that this view is gaining ever more advocates in later times—are for a more gradual healing of the malady from within outwardly, and for a temporary tolerance of caste under certain important limitations. It is well known that Graul adopted the views of the old Halle missionaries, and that till this day the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society of Leipsic takes this view. It is evident that we cannot here enter upon a theoretical discussion of this difficult question, upon which many a time judgment has been freely pronounced, without the critics having any apprehension of its great complexity. In this place we have only to do with the question as to what the mission has actually effected, whether by the more vigorous or by the milder practice, towards the abolition of caste. Alas! not much; no doubt not only hundreds but thousands of people of the higher castes have renounced caste, but what are they in comparison with the hundred millions who still regard the breach of caste as the most terrible of all crimes? No doubt in the Christian churches members of all castes meet in one place of worship, drink, with rare exceptions, from one communion-cup, and theoretically acknowledge that they are all brethren, and must love and help one another. But caste remains—and not only in the churches of the milder practice—a powerful restriction on the civil life of the community, making itself especially conspicuous in this, that people of the several castes live in separate dwellings, do not eat with one another, avoid inter-marriages, and, so far as possible, all social intercourse.* That seems confessedly a poor result.

* See Translator's Introduction.

But when we consider that neither in ancient nor in modern mission-history has the acceptance of the Gospel had to encounter a more gigantic obstacle than caste, and that a system which so dominates the whole life of the people cannot possibly come to an end in two or three generations, we shall not think lightly even of the small breach which has now been made in the fortress, but shall see in it the first step towards the capture. Though this capture may be at a greater distance than many sanguine friends of missions suppose, and the siege may still require great patience, the ultimate issue cannot be doubted. The preaching of the Gospel is the death-knell of caste.

The mission has wrought a transformation in the civil, social, and political life of other fields, especially among the savage peoples, more conspicuously than it has in India. Let us look at the Sandwich Islands, which we have heretofore mentioned only cursorily. It is well known that here the mission completed its peculiar work almost ten years ago, and wrought a change which in a comparatively short time converted a people, who stood on the lowest stage of culture, into a nation, at least outwardly civilized. It is not our intention to idealise. We allow it to be taken as a fact, for example, that the chastity of the female islanders does not always withstand the temptations presented by strangers; that the old idol-worship is often practised in secret [although the assertion of Buchner as to the sacrifices at the present day to the goddess Pela is a fiction, as the Doctor is told even in the *Ausland* (1879, p. 199), where his reviewer shows, by a host of examples, that he has allowed him-

self to be imposed upon]; that the Western civilization is in many particulars but an outward varnish, and is often felt to be a fetter and a burden; that in particular the constitutional form of government, with its modern parliamentarism, is in reality a comedy, &c. But when we compare the past and the present, the most unfriendly critic must pronounce that a change has here taken place, so stupendous that even considerable defects and disturbances cannot prevent its recognition. "At their present stage of culture the Hawaiians are certainly a peculiar compound of old barbarism and new civilization." They exhibit two grades of culture, which are separated from one another by a deep chasm, as, indeed, it could not possibly be otherwise with a civilization so rapid. After these introductory observations, we think the spectacles are dark enough to prevent our treating the following picture as an unshaded light-picture. Whoever was at Hawaii on the 15th of June, 1870, must have received an overwhelming impression of the cultural power which the mission has put forth. Honolulu, the capital, with its royal castle, its circus and theatre, its comfortably-furnished houses, its beautiful, cleanly hospitals, was decked out in most festive fashion. Thousands of people in their Sunday clothes moved joyously through the streets, and a stately steamer, manned by natives, brought crowds of festal visitors from the adjacent islands. At the ringing of the bells the multitude was formed into a festal procession, which, at the stroke of ten o'clock, put itself in motion. In front went two companies of native infantry and one of cavalry, and with these were joined the civil officials from city and country, and the oldest

missionaries in carriages. Then followed the younger American and native clergy, the representatives of various societies, and the members of the National University of Lahainaluna; 800 gaily-dressed children, the male and female scholars of the Sabbath-schools, closed the procession, whose destination was the large stone church of the metropolis. When the multitude were in some measure quieted here, there entered, attended by his minister and the widowed queen Emma, the King Kamehameha IV., who was greeted by the assembly rising to their feet with the song "Hail to our King, hail!" The gallery opposite the royal seat bore the inscription, wrought in evergreens, "1820—Jubilee 1870"—and underneath, the national motto, "Righteousness exalteth a people." Thus Hawaii celebrated the fifty-years' jubilee of its evangelisation. We forbear giving extracts from the speeches which were delivered on this occasion by the representatives of the American Board, the Hawaiian Government, the American embassy, the native clergy, &c., and the proofs afforded by the whole what a mighty change of their whole morality, what a progress in their intellectual education and external civilization the islands owe to the mission. Perhaps the judgment of an entirely disinterested correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, Mr. Dana, a Boston lawyer, will have more weight with many readers. Mr. Dana belongs to the Episcopal Church, which is by no means prepossessed in favour of the Congregational American Board. "It is not a small matter," writes this eye-witness, early in 1860, "that the missionaries of the American Board in less than forty years taught this people reading, writ-

ing, arithmetic, and sewing. The natives whom, on their arrival, they found as half-naked savages, who lived in the breakers and on the sands, fed on raw fish, given over to sensuality and oppressed by rude chieftains, are now decently clothed, live in regular marriage, and avail themselves of Divine worship more regularly than the mass of people at home. The most distinguished Kanakas take part in the management of public affairs in the constitutional monarchy under which they live, have their seats on the judge's bench and in the legislative body, or occupy the position of local magistrates. . . . As matters now stand, I have nowhere found so strict, and yet so judicious, and well administered ordinances with respect to offences. The Government and the best of the citizens stand as a good genius between the people and the hosts of their foreign invaders. As regards the interior of the islands, a traveller, even with money, can wander without escort through the wildest districts. As I came straight from the hills of California, I was provided with the girdle which is so indispensable there, and with all that hangs from it, but I soon learned that such means of protection are unheard of in Hawaii. On the other hand, I did not find a hut without a Bible and a hymn-book, and family worship and grace at meals are as universal as they were one hundred years ago in New England."

"The Government"—so proceeds, with reference to the whole evangelic mission-field of Polynesia, the testimony of the Catholic reporter of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, already quoted—"the Government was formerly a horribly cruel form of despotism ; now it has subjected

itself to laws. The protection of life and property is secured by inviolable compacts. Officials administer justice; even the institution of the Jury has been introduced." In his speech, delivered on occasion of the fifty-years' Jubilee festival of the evangelisation of the Tonga Islands, the king of these islands, among other things, said: "Other peoples have accomplished much more, but they required many centuries for their advances. We may well be proud of the attainments we have made in a half-century. A heathen people has embraced Christianity; barbarians are half civilized; you find churches and schools in all directions; every kind of slavery is removed; a constitution has been granted; laws govern; courts of justice are in operation; various departments of administration are in action; roads intersect the whole country; shops are opening in every village; and all aids to civilization are beginning to beautify the land." And the latest narrator of a *Voyage through the Pacific Ocean*, the mission-hater, Dr. Buchner, who has already been repeatedly quoted, collects his description of the state of things which he found there, notwithstanding many caricatures of culture, into the following testimony: "Despotism and cannibalism on the part of the nobles, mutual fear, insecurity of life and property, a condition of war of all against all, formerly pressed heavily upon the people. Now, in the Christian time, peace and order have been introduced among them, and since hypocrisy makes them happier, why should hypocrisy be reproached as an evil thing?"

An interesting document upon the latest measures, adopted by the Christian Government of Madagascar,

especially upon the institution of 156 newly-appointed officials in the province of Imerina, to whom the superintendence of police, the department of health, the registration of civil status, the inspection of schools, &c., are assigned, contains a recently published green-book, in the introduction to which the Queen says, among other things: "I thank God much that the Gospel of Jesus Christ has been introduced into my country and kingdom, to make my people wise, and to teach them to know God, whereby is eternal life. And for the sake of the protection which I have received from God, and which I acknowledged as very good, I therefore founded my kingdom upon God." In rightful acknowledgment of the duty thence incumbent on her for the welfare of her people, the Queen addresses herself to the newly-installed officials in the following words: "I have thought good that you, who are among the great ones of my kingdom, and are accustomed to manage affairs, be by me selected *Sakaizam-Bohitra* (lit., friends of the cities), that you may take care of my kingdom, encourage the people to learn wisdom and to send the children to school, induce the lazy to work, reward the diligent, help the people to live happily on their holdings, and protect the widows and orphans. Therefore I place you here in the middle of Imerina, that you may superintend my people, and that all in the whole province may live in peace." Then there follow, under 86 heads, the regulations for these magistrates, all of which relate to the performance of judicial, administrative, sanitary and educational functions.

The missionaries have often been accused of mixing

themselves up, uninvited, with politics; and even so friendly a critic as Meinicke believes, notwithstanding a full recognition of the purity of their intentions, that their action in this respect cannot be wholly justified. We quote the strikingly characteristic passage, because, in making the charge, it contains a good part of the apology, which it considers insufficient: "Even in political changes which have taken place more recently, the influence of the missionaries must not be misunderstood. That the old state arrangements could not consist with the acceptance of Christianity, was soon seen by the natives themselves. They naturally betook themselves to the men who had won their entire respect and confidence, and asked their counsel. They gave it, undoubtedly, with the best intentions, and all the subsequent legislation shows that it was followed, as well as the institutions which have been introduced, for example, into the Society Islands. But these efforts have not always had the results at which these clergymen aimed. While it is not to be doubted that the political relations require transformation, it is quite as evident that these peoples do not possess the ability themselves to effect such a reform. But that it is proper for the governments of the refined peoples of Europe to found a new political life in these islands by more or less direct influences, can scarcely be doubted. What the missionaries have done in this direction has not, apart from the legalising of the old dynasties, proceeded from the spirit of the peoples; rather it has constrained that spirit, and it is partly on that account that the laws have not at all met with uniform obedience; the constitutional ordinances have not taken root.

But this participation of the clergy in political counsels has had other and disadvantageous consequences for them. They frequently employed the influence which they had acquired to further their efforts of all sorts through the help of the princes who were devoted to them, and while this has brought them many advantages, yet the disadvantages are permanent, and have showed themselves in reactions. On the other hand, they led the princes also in their relations to foreign powers, and have thereby been often involved in circumstances which were unsuitable to their office ; thence contentions have arisen which they should have avoided at any cost."

We must confess that our much-esteemed countryman in this argument is unintelligible to us, and that after the just introductory remarks we expected at least an apology for the missionaries, if not a vindication of them ; somewhat after the fashion in which the jurist reporter of the *New York Tribune*, already mentioned, gives it. "Certainly the missionaries have influenced the legislation of the kingdom (Hawaii), and it is fortunate that they have done so. Influence from one party or the other was a condition of the development of the natives. If the missionaries had not gained the upper hand over the foreign merchants, &c., a handful of these people would have oppressed and ruined all." That the arrangements adopted were not always in accordance with the national spirit we fully confess, and with Meinicke we regret it. Nor do we deny that the influence which the missionaries possessed was now and again misused ; yet we must, according to our best knowledge and conscience, undertake the defence of men who found themselves in so difficult a position, against the accusations

founded on rumour, and must at least plead mitigating circumstances for the mistakes which they have fallen into.

The question as to the relation of the missionary to politics is a very complicated one, which is in no wise decided for intelligent people by the phrase, "The mission has nothing to do with politics." "The heathenism," says Dr. Ostertag very pointedly, "with which the missionary has come to contend, is not merely a system of doctrines of faith and of instruction as to the worship of the gods, while in other respects it remains without influence and reflex action upon the civil and national life of a people; but it is always and everywhere so much interwoven with all the forms of life of a nation, that the whole social and political condition of the people stands and falls with their religion." The history of the old Roman Empire, as well as that of the old German States, testifies this as strongly and unmistakably as does the most recent history of the smallest heathen island-groups in the South Seas. The Gospel, inasmuch as it comes into conflict and enters upon a life-and-death struggle with the national heathenism of a people, involuntarily shakes also the foundations of their social and political life; and it is quite comprehensible how in the case of the Lord Himself, His accusation before Pilate ran upon political sedition, and how afterwards the people of Thessalonica rose against the apostle Paul with the charge: "These men who are turning the world upside down are come hither also; these all do contrary to the decree of Caesar." Unfortunately our space does not admit of our going into the detail of the question in hand. A view of its complication is afforded by the truly masterly, we might say classical, address of the late

experienced secretary of the C. M. S., Mr. Venn, which he delivered on occasion of the ordination of young missionaries in 1860, and to which we must refer our readers. In this address, by means of the most striking examples, the right bearing of the missionaries with respect to social and political questions, whether among civilized or uncivilized peoples, and whether in relation to colonial or native governments, is so pointed out in sharp lines, that non-interference with political matters is insisted upon as much as possible as the fundamental rule; but at the same time it is shown that where the great principles of righteousness, humanity, and Christian duty are involved, the missionary must all the less withhold his counsel and his aid in political questions of mixed character, as he is regularly the most natural and the most unselfish representative of the interests of the natives. In our home Christianity there has now come into fashion a sort of system of seclusion, which, by confining religion to acts of worship and private life, would save all public relations from its influence. The more advanced enemies of Christianity, who do not play hide-and-seek with pious phrases, designate this policy as starving it out. In the mission-fields, fortunately, simpler and sounder conditions still prevail. The force of the relation is here so great that the religious life cannot be restricted to the place of worship or the chamber of prayer. The old relation cannot remain; and the more childlike the natives are, the less can the missionaries maintain the principle of non-intervention. In theory it is all very good; but when, for example, the Christian Sotho negroes in Botschabelo found a new city, or even a new state, must the missionary keep

himself aloof from the organisation of it? Or when the Kohls are enslaved in the most unrighteous way by their Hindu oppressors, shall the missionary not meddle with the social question? Or when, in the Sandwich Islands, sexual inconstancy urgently requires legal suppression, is the missionary doing wrong when he labours for it? Or when in Herero-land or in Kaffir-land the introduction of brandy threatens corruption to the laboriously gathered churches, must he refrain from helping the adoption of measures of protection against drunkenness? Or when in New Zealand the colonisation of the islands or the seizure of lands by the English crown is in hand, is it wrong for the missionary to give advice to the natives? Or when in Yorubaland threatening war-clouds are rising, may he not negotiate for peace? Or when the Kaffirs rebel against the colonial government, is it forbidden him to utter his sentiments regarding the attitude of the Christian churches? Or when in Madagascar the national and communal constitution is being reorganised, when there are discussions about laws relating to Sabbath observance, marriage, school-attendance, the care of the poor and the sick, the sale of brandy, the manumission of slaves, the slave-trade, &c., shall the missionary not dare to say a word, even if the confidence of the people and the Government expressly invite him thereto? Enough of examples. We fully confess that there are missionaries who have gone too far in intervention, yea, who have many times "made flesh their arm." But it is always easier to criticise than to amend; and it is a difficult question where, especially among the barbarous peoples, the greater evil arises, whether from the mistakes which

intervention, or from those which non-intervention, brings with it.

The new organisation of the civil and national community-life is also influenced by the religious community-life, without the direct interference of the missionary. Wherever the mission strikes root, it founds and organises Christian churches. But the religious community, which is a thing more or less unknown to heathenism, consists not only in the outward union of those who have become believers of the Gospel, but it is a body, an articulated organism, in which one member serves the others, each one according to the talent which it possesses. Here is a school for the learning and the exercise of the sentiment of community, an arena for the action of the most manifold powers, a state of freedom for all; here in action and passion characters are formed, which become examples and leaders to others. The more organised the religious community, and the fresher the life which pulsates in it, the greater is its reflex action upon the relations of the civil community. It is not only that the men who undertake an active and independent position, as elders, deacons, Sabbath-school teachers, class-leaders, &c., obtain respect and influence also in the civil community, but the community-spirit which reigns there must of necessity exert its reflex action upon other social relations, especially upon the communal and the national life. Thus, for example, in Madagascar, the installation of the above-mentioned new communal magistrates would have been simply impossible, had not the spirit of the Gospel influenced the Government, and had not the Christian churches trained the proper persons. Also, in the South Sea Islands, despotism could

not have been got rid of, had not the Christian community-spirit become sufficiently strong to burst its chains.

Amidst all the imperfection with which the mission-churches of the present day realise the biblical idea of Christian morality, they produce a host of virtues with which the culture-life of the peoples can nowhere and never dispense, unless it is to sink into a mere "nature-process," and to degenerate into that barbarous "struggle for existence," in which the conqueror ruthlessly marches over the corpses of the vanquished, and any conciliatory conclusion is impossible. We mention first the virtues of love, of mercy, of beneficence. Neither the heathenism of ancient nor of modern times has practised these virtues much or at all. It is to the great thoughts of mercy of Jesus Christ that the poor and the sick, the most neglected and fallen, are indebted for humane treatment. Only a few examples. When would the Sandwich Islanders in their heathen times have thought of interesting themselves in the poor lepers, and of bringing contributions for their treatment? As the *Globus* informs us, there exists, since 1865, a Royal Board of Health for the Archipelago, through whose exertions a leper colony has been founded in the island of Molokai, which belongs to Hawaii, into which, up to the end of March 1878, there had been admitted in all 1827 lepers, of whom 692 were alive at that date. The cost of maintenance of this colony amounted formerly to £13,000, but last year the Legislature voted about £2000 more, in order to be able to supply their banished brethren with many necessities which have been hitherto unprovided for, as lights, soap, more frequent rations of meat, and medicines. Further, an

annual salary of £1000 was granted for an accomplished physician, who will devote his life to the oversight and treatment of these unfortunate people, and who has been found in the person of a Dr. Emerson, the son of one who has been for many years a Hawaiian missionary. . . . When it is considered that the above appropriation for the maintenance of the colony amounts to about six shillings for every person, man, woman, and child, of the really and comparatively poor population of the Island-Kingdom, no one can withhold his recognition of their great magnanimity.

An example from New Guinea has been already given, how the word and the example of the missionaries make even the heathen merciful. A similar case is quite recently reported from Terra del Fuego. "A Liverpool coal-ship took fire not far from the southernmost point of America; the crew betook themselves to the boats, and the captain, with his wife and seven sailors, were cast upon the desert and cold island of Holste, where they remained as in a prison, their boat having been smashed. They had passed forty-eight days in this terrible position, when at last some Terra-del-Fuegians, attracted by a white towel hung out by the shipwrecked ones as a signal of distress, landed in their boats, but only to find a single individual alive. In earlier times they would immediately have stripped the corpses, and would probably have abused them shamefully, while they would have killed the survivor and stolen everything. But now it was shown that the mission was not operating upon them in vain, but had succeeded in training them to gentler practices. They did all that they could for the poor man; kindled a fire,

cooked something for him to eat, gave him water to drink, and then hastened, not without leaving a watcher with him, to the mission-station, where, with tears in their eyes, they told the missionary, Mr. Bridges, and Captain Willis, of their sad discovery. At once these made in the mission-ship for the designated point, but reached it only after a very stormy voyage of eighteen days. Of course it was too late. Even the last was dead. There lay the nine bodies untouched. The natives had not even taken from them the warm clothes, which might have been very useful to themselves. Some papers that were found showed the country and the fate of the unfortunates. Mr. Bridges sent an official report of the whole transactions to the Governor of the Falkland Islands, the result of which was that the Queen of England expressed her warmest thanks to the missionaries, and the Board of Trade presented a pound to each of the Terra-del-Fuegians who had a part in the finding of the unfortunates."

In many churches of converts there is a regulated care of the poor and the sick, as well as a provision for widows and orphans, and how considerably this new moral spirit influences the common social life is shown by this, that even the heathen around them are beginning to imitate the Christians in these matters. Thus, in Bengal, the useful institutions which the Serampore missionaries called into life, their *Benevolent Institution* in Calcutta, their Savings Bank, and the foundation of the Agricultural Society, their Hospital in Serampore, &c., have given an impulse to similar undertakings in town and country. A particularly instructive example of this sort is afforded by the constitution and operation

of a society which was founded in 1863 at Uttarpara, a provincial town in Bengal, under the name *Hitakari Sabha*, that is, the society for public advantage. The object of this society is stated in its rules: "To instruct the poor, to bring help to the needy, to clothe the naked, to furnish medicine without charge to the destitute sick, to support poor widows and orphans, to promote economy, and in general to improve according to its ability the social, moral, and intellectual condition of its own members, as well as their neighbours in Uttarpara." Similar experiences are told from China. Thus, for example, at Fumum and in Shiklung, stations of the Rhenish missionaries, the heathen Chinese have built foundling hospitals, opened free schools, and furnished medicine gratuitously to the sick poor; while also from Canton, Amoy, and other mission districts, similar examples are known of the imitation by the heathen of Christian works of love. That the comprehensive exhibition of Christian charity in the East Indian as well as in the Chinese great famine, has excited not only admiration, but imitation, is shown, for example, not only by the quotation given in note eleven, but also by the following testimony of the *Shanghai Courier* of the 10th June of last year: "When we consider the contrast between the work of these men, the missionaries, who in some cases have sunk under their exertions, and the self-seeking lives of the great mass of men, we must give the tribute of our highest admiration to their sacrifice and faithfulness, and be thankful that such examples have been afforded us. These men are the pioneers of civilization and of Christianity, and have fallen fighting on the

field of slaughter, and it is encouraging to see that forthwith other volunteers are hastening to fill up the gaps."

Further, the mission awakens and fosters the virtues of integrity, truthfulness, and industry. Thus Colonel Field, who for thirty years was an energetic official in various districts in India, states: "I once lived in a Christian settlement, whose inhabitants had received a considerable tract of land for cultivation. In order to cultivate with success, these people constantly required advances, to negotiate which they had to resort to the bankers in a neighbouring large heathen city. They were very well known. And what impression was made by what was known of them? The bankers of the place never lent to their heathen countrymen without getting from them a bond, or requiring other security, so that they could apply to the courts if necessary. They never asked anything of the kind from the Christians. They contented themselves with a promise by word of mouth, so great confidence had they in their integrity."

That the English officials find the most upright and trustworthy people among that portion of their staff who have attended mission schools is proved by a testimony of Sir Bartle Frere (Note 17). So in the last great famine, native Christians were preferred as inspectors over the labourers, because both those under them and those over them could reckon more securely on their honesty.

In the great military rebellion of 1857, the Christians of the settlement of Sikandra, near Agra, about 220 in number, being sorely threatened by the mutineers, had been, at the earnest entreaty of the missionary, Mr. French, received into the Fort of Agra. Sir Herbert

Edwardes, the renowned conqueror of Multan, tells as follows of the advantage which the Europeans derived from the reception of these fugitives, who were at first regarded with distrust: "It may be easily supposed how our countrymen, who had crowded themselves together there, were deserted by their heathen servants. There were no Mohammedan boys who served the Christian families, no Mohammedan cooks, no bakers, no heathen servants to do for their English brothers and sisters those services which, in a climate like India, a European cannot himself do. In this universal necessity these native Christians of Sikandra took the places of those who had run away from them. . . . They were even required—and this is a very remarkable fact—to bake bread for the European soldiers. Why so? With respect to all other natives, it was feared that they would put poison into it. Yes, there were times when, even if heathen and Mohammedan bakers offered themselves, no one of them could be trusted. But the native Christian approved himself as a faithful ally. In consequence of this faithfulness, proved in the hour of greatest danger, the English retained most of the Christians of Sikandra in their personal service."

"Our Christians," it is said in a report to the directorate of the Baptist Missionary Society, "are visibly different from the heathen. Their moral sense is sharpened, so that those immoral practices which are constant among the heathen seldom occur among them. The way in which they treat their wives is a contrast to the rough treatment to which many Hindu wives are subjected. In their intercourse with one another they are

more friendly and upright than the heathen. These make nothing of bearing false witness in court; our Christians recoil from this sin." All this means something in a country where even the heathen and Mohammedan officials are regarded as so dishonest that even the postage stamps, for example, must be rendered unusable by the senders' putting some mark upon them, since a letter with uneffaced stamps would be exposed to the danger of untraceable disappearance.

"A Christian Santal was once going through several villages to make an extensive purchase of rice. In the first of the villages he got part of what he required, in the second also he got some baskets, and so forth, all for cash payments. But when he brought out his money at the last village, he saw that he had not enough. He was twelve shillings short of the sum necessary to pay what he had bought. It is a thing unheard of among the Santals to give any goods on credit, so that the man saw that he had no alternative but to ask the seller to take back twelve shillings' worth of the rice. Meantime, the seller had perceived that he had to do with a Christian, and as this impression was confirmed on his directly putting the question, he declared, without more to do, that he would be content in the meantime with the partial payment, and would trust to the buyer that he would soon bring him the balance. Unfortunately, the tax-collector came next day to the village to collect the dues. The man who had given his rice on credit was not able to pay his dues fully at once, and told, by way of excuse, what had befallen him. But the official deemed it incredible that a Santal should part with his

goods without getting the money for them. His suspicion was confirmed by the fact that the man could give neither the name nor the residence of his debtor, and only took his stand upon this, that he was a Christian, and would certainly pay the twelve shillings ere long. Even the other villagers did not believe the story, and the collector sentenced the supposed liar to a suitable measure of stripes."

A few days after, that Christian returned and paid his debt. His creditor had scarcely recovered from his undeserved ill-treatment; but he forgot his pains through the joy of being able to vindicate himself and his honourable debtor before his neighbours and acquaintances. He called them all together and said triumphantly: "You laughed at me lately because I trusted to the word of a Christian. There he is. Look well at him. I have not dunned him for his debt. I knew neither his name nor where he lives, and yet he has come to pay me the twelve shillings!"

Captain Briggs, in his book *Sunny Days in Salween*, published twenty years ago, writes thus: "As an official of eight or nine years' experience on this (the Tenasserim) coast, I can vouch for the great moral elevation among the Christian Karens. I venture to assert that ten Christian villages give less trouble to the police than one heathen Karen village. Indeed, our registers show that in one heathen town, Taungbyuk, there is more crime than in the whole Christian district of this province."

"The theft and impurity which men so universally practised in the heathen times"—writes Meinicke regarding the Christian South Sea Islanders—"are now as unfrequent as in a civilized European country, and they

would be still rarer, were the islands not so much visited by the profligate crews of merchant and whaling ships." Of Aitutaki—an island of the Hervey group, in which the venerable veteran Royle laboured for forty years, and which is now under the care of a native pastor—Harris, who visited it in 1876, after describing its progress in external civilization, writes thus: "It was a real pleasure to meet with so many dear people, as these Aitutakians are. They know the truths of the Gospel not merely theoretically but from practical experience; and their daily life forms a commentary upon these truths. The name Aitutaki has a pleasant sound for all captains who visit this group. I was told that they leave their commercial transactions altogether in the hands of the Aitutakians. When a captain has brought his goods ashore, and has told the chiefs what articles of barter he wishes in return, he usually goes away again, and the chiefs undertake the full responsibility for the goods consigned to them from the ship. When they have collected the articles of barter, they pay for them out of the stores of the white man, and hand to the captain an accurately prepared account, with a strict valuation of the country produce delivered, and of the European goods taken in payment. Their conduct in these matters gives universal satisfaction, and I have often heard them spoken of with great respect and pleasure." Even Buchner cannot help testifying that he, in spite of the suspicions cast upon them by the white colonists, has learned to know the Fijians as upright men.

Whenever European colonists require the service of natives to manage their work, they prefer the Christians

before their heathen countrymen, unless they be in principle opponents of the mission, Lady Barker, the wife of an English Government official in Natal, whose interesting book, *Three Years of the Life of a Housewife in South Africa*, has been already mentioned, states: "On all sides, since I have been here, the advice has been given me to employ no Christian Kaffirs as servants, but I might know on what the prejudice rests, which people have against them: 'If you would have a good servant, take a Kaffir who comes direct from the kraal,' I was universally told. It happens that we have two of each sort, two Christians and two heathen, in our service, and there can be no doubt which are the best." One more proof in conclusion. The well-known official judgment of the Indo-British Government, as to the importance of the mission, closes with these words: "The indications of a solid advancement effected in the short space of two generations, and now becoming visible on all sides, furnish good hope for the future moral growth of the native population of India. The Indian Government cannot but acknowledge the great obligation under which they lie to the benevolent exertions of these six hundred missionaries, whose stainless example and self-denying labour are inspiring new power into the petrified life of the people under the English rule, and making them better men and better citizens of the great empire to which they belong."

It is far from our intention to assert that these and similar virtues, as, for example, temperance, which—to adduce but one example—is commended among the Kohl and Santal Christians, are found in every individual convert from heathenism, and in prominent

measure. We know very well that moral qualities cannot be appropriated by way of mechanical necessity, but only gradually and imperfectly become the common property of the young Christians. It is in the mission churches, which everywhere are nought but fragments of future national churches, quite as it is in home Christianity. Not only are there defects, but many faults and tares grow among the wheat. Still there is a mighty difference between the THEN and the NOW. In his repeatedly mentioned book on the South-Sea Missions, Mr. Pritchard says very strikingly with reference to the civilizing effect of the mission generally: "No one can fully understand the advance in civilization, who is not somewhat familiar with the condition in which the Polynesians were when the mission began its work. The difficulties in the way of introducing among them industry, and other customs and manners of civilized life, are entirely unknown to those who have not seen the old heathenism and its obstinate character. The tourist may find little to admire and much to criticise, while such as knew the people in their former degradation, and see them now in their comparatively high civilization, cannot be sufficiently astonished." In quite peculiar measure, this remark is applicable also with respect to the above-mentioned moral virtues. The converts are by no means a moral ideal, yet their present general condition bears the same proportion to their former heathen condition that the morning dawn bears to the darkness of night. But the deficiencies and faults are now recognised as sins, and discipline is administered in regard to them. The passions of the natural human heart have no longer exclusive control of the behaviour.

New fountains of life are opened, and new powers of resistance are brought into action, which more or less paralyse selfishness. There is a centripetal force which ever draws the erring conscience of the people back to the purifying and saving fountain of life.

Were it haply so, as the latest historian of culture, Herr von Hellwald is not ashamed to assert, that, "*right, morality, and moral* are but an empty sound," and that "the so-called corruption of morals stands in direct proportion to the growth of civilization"—then our missionaries would be doing not only a superfluous, but a positively scandalous work, when they are striving, by the awakening and fostering of moral and social virtues, to lay a new foundation for culture among the heathen. Then consequently the most blooming culture must grow from the moral corruption of the heathen, and we must introduce the heathen immorality among ourselves, instead of planting the Christian morality among them. It is indeed almost fabulous how blind these fanatics of materialistic culture are to the most evident facts. Apart from the fact that at home it is now sufficiently manifest to what barbarism a culture leads "whose growth is in direct proportion to moral corruption," a glance at heathen lands should furnish them with the proof, that it fares ill with civilization where "*right, morality, and moral* are an empty sound;" and that it is when Christianity converts these things into realities that a culture-epoch, bringing blessings for the whole culture-life of a people, first begins.

III.

RELATION OF CULTURE TO THE MISSION.

THAT the Mission of the present day is a cultural power must have been put beyond doubt, to every unprejudiced person, through the facts which have been imparted, however incomplete they are. But our theme speaks of the *mutual* relations between the modern mission and culture. We have thus still to inquire whether conversely the modern culture is a missionary power.

When the question is asked as to the fountains from which the mission-life of the present day has sprung, the only one that will commonly be mentioned is the religious awakening which, since the end of last century, has laid hold of circles, at first small, but gradually greater and greater, of England, Germany, and America. Doubtless that is quite correct; for only churches that are religiously alive engage in missions. Indeed, the efficacy of these fountains was all the more potent for the extension of the kingdom of God among the heathen, because they were soon divided into many brooks and streams. The partition of Protestantism into ecclesiastical denominations and directions is commonly regarded as only a shady side of the evangelical Church. But it has, under the leading of the good hand of God, its light sides also. One of these light sides lies in the

domain of the mission. However many denominations and church organisations there are, there are as many mission-centres at home. The so-called "free" Protestantism, notwithstanding the strong excitement produced by the book of Buss already mentioned, has hitherto led only to criticism of the "pietistic" mission, and to the putting forth of a somewhat fantastic plan of missions, but not to any missionary action of its own. Certainly, this abundance of mission-centres—of which there are at least seventy in Europe and America, without reckoning independent missions conducted by British colonists and by native Christians—has essentially contributed to make the missionary activity within the evangelical Church so universal and so energetic. Without this partition of the stream it would have been impossible that now there should be at least 2300 ordained evangelical missionaries doing evangelistic service in almost all the known and accessible countries of the world, and that in recent times about £1,200,000 annually are contributed in voluntary gifts for the carrying on and extension of the work. The enemies of the mission strive to represent this division of the work in a bad light: because they assert that the emissaries of the several Protestant camps obstruct one another in a scandalous way among the heathen, and by their differences in doctrine and in organisation hinder rather than further the spread of the Gospel. It cannot be denied that cases of this kind do in fact occur. Especially the English Propagation Society (S. P. G.) is rightly accused of discourtesy towards other societies. But in general the agents of most of the missionary societies occupy a position like that of Lord Macaulay,

who, after his return from India, declared: "I have lived so long in a land where the people worship cows, that I do not make much of the differences which separate Christians from Christians." When, even in home Christianity, in presence of the heathenism which is ever more and more manifesting itself, the differences between the various ecclesiastical parties are more and more thrust into the background, so it is naturally the case on the proper heathen mission-field. Nothing makes men so large-hearted as does the mission. Thus the official report of the Indo-British Government, to which reference has been repeatedly made, expressly testifies that the missionaries in India "labour together with well-known cordiality. Although they belong to different denominations, yet the nature of their work, their isolated position, and their long experience, cause them to attach far greater importance to the many particulars in which they agree than to those in which they differ, so that they heartily lend a helping hand to one another. By friendly understanding they divide the districts among them, and, with few exceptions, it is their constant rule not to intrude into one another's territory. The numerous missionaries in the several Presidency cities form a Missionary Conference, hold periodical meetings, and discuss in common subjects of importance, &c." And not in India only, but also in China and Japan, West, South, and East Africa, the West Indies and Polynesia, as well as in the general Missionary Conference held in London in December last, the mission affords proof that the motto is ever more and more prevalent, VIRIBUS UNITIS.

But the religious awakening is by no means the only

fountain of the modern mission-life. The discoveries, especially in the South Sea, which have been made during and since the last quarter of last century, first gave to the religious awakening its missionary direction. The age of the Reformation was assuredly a time of religious awakening, but it did not issue in missionary work. And that certainly not for the reason that the young evangelical Church had at first too much to do at home, so that it had neither time nor strength remaining for extending the kingdom of God among the heathen. That might be said also of the Apostolic Church, and yet it was a missionary church. At this day also we have struggle enough within the old Christendom, and yet we are carrying on missions with ever increasing energy. Rather at the time of the Reformation the eye was wanting for the mission-task, and this eye was wanting mainly because the Protestant countries had little or no direct connection with the heathen peoples. No doubt a period of discovery had preceded the Reformation, and especially by the discovery of America, a new world was gradually opened up. But all these discoveries directly affected only the Catholic States, Portugal and Spain, and within the Romanist Church they called forth missionary zeal, which, though not very spiritual, was yet not insignificant. The limited missionary action of the pietism of Halle at a later time, and the more extensive operations of the Church of the Brethren, manifestly received their impulse from the Danish foreign relations. Still, even in the eighteenth century there was not within the evangelical Church any general undertaking of missions to the heathen. Certainly, rationalism bears a good share of the blame; but it is as little to be held responsible for the neglect as

is the orthodoxy that prevailed before it. The fulness of the time was not yet come. The Danish Halle mission, and that of the Hernhuters, have but a transient importance for the mission of the present day, similar to that of the forerunners of the Reformation for the Reformation. It was "the geographical undertakings of last century, the general application to thoughts of humanity, although these at first showed themselves hostile to revelation, the political movements, the American War of Independence, the contests about slavery, the French Revolution, and other movements, that first prepared the wide field on which the modern mission could grow, and grow as it has done." It was especially the newly-awakened interest in foreign peoples and countries, that begot the thought of missions in the circles of living Christianity. Then it happened that the later invention of the steam-engine produced great new means of communication, which reduced the greatest distances to comparatively small spaces, and rendered possible a world-intercourse which far surpassed in magnitude all previous relations betwixt foreign lands. To these auxiliary forces the mission of the present day owes, not indeed its existence, but a great part of its stimulation, and at all events its comparatively rapid and important extension. It is impossible to write the history of the modern mission, without its being at the same time most closely interlaced with the history of discoveries, relations of commerce, and colonies. As geography is, according to the competent testimonies of such men as Peschel and Petermann, deeply indebted to the mission; so, conversely, discoveries and commerce have often prepared the way for the mission. "Geography, commerce,

and the spread of religion," writes the former of these two, "have, singularly enough, a common history. The discoverer is the *avant-courier* of the missionary, while the missionary himself is often a discoverer. Where commercial connections are formed, there the missionary settles; and where missions are founded, there commercial connections are developed." Thus Livingstone also would have his travels of discovery regarded as a pioneer-service for the mission. "The end of geographical action should," according to his well-known dictum, "be only the beginning of the missionary enterprise." It is, in the best sense of the term, an edifying matter to see how the King of the heavenly kingdom, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, has the reins of the government of the world in His hands, and makes the advance of culture-history subservient to the extension of His Gospel. Scientific discoveries, modern means of communication, world-commerce, colonial policy, render to the mission of the present day similar services to those which the warlike expeditions of Alexander the Great, the dispersion of Israel, and the Roman universal empire rendered to the apostolic, and the policy of the Frankish kings and the German emperors to the medieval mission. True it is, as we shall soon see, that the world-commerce, rendered possible by means of the modern civilization, has its great dangers for the spread of the Gospel among the unchristian nations, as well as for their physical and intellectual wellbeing. Still, it were very short-sighted, on account of this undeniable shadow-side, to overlook, or even to undervalue, the immense advantage which the mission of the present day has derived, and is continuously deriving, from the modern civilization.

It is not only a very harsh, but also a very one-sided, and therefore, notwithstanding much truth that it contains, a very erroneous judgment which Wolfgang Menzel pronounces on the mission of the present day, on account of its connection with the modern culture. Undoubtedly the world-commerce brings into heathen lands a great mass of evil men, who disgrace the name of Christ, and by their covetousness, sensuality, brutality, &c., obstruct the entrance of the Gospel. But the assertions of Menzel shoot far beyond the mark, and therefore go for nothing. Who ever "misused the leaves of the Gospels as wrappers for the opium poison?" So far as we know, that has not occurred to any missionary, or even to any opium-trader. What can the mission do for the opium trade? A man like Menzel should have known that the mission is its most decided enemy; and when the critic makes the assertion that "Christ, who stretched out His arms to draw all His human brethren to Himself, has, under the influence of the modern civilization, been imperceptibly changed into the horrid form of the Indian goddess of death, Kali, who carries a distinct instrument of slaughter in every one of her many hands,"—it is indeed a strong speech, which would be comprehensible if it came from the mouth of a social democrat, but when uttered by a Christian apologist like W. Menzel, admits only of the explanation that pessimism fails to learn to distinguish and discriminate. Many representatives of the modern civilization, alas! resemble the Indian goddess in question; but Christ is not changed into her likeness; and we ask once more, how can the mission, which proclaims Christ to the heathen, help it, that the world-commerce leads also many men who do

discredit to the Gospel into distant lands? It is utterly out of the power of the mission to prevent the introduction of evil elements into heathen lands. It is a result of the imperfection of the mission now, as well as in the apostolic time, that in its field of labour people are not wanting on whose account the name of God is blasphemed among the heathen" (Rom. ii. 24). In this sinful world we must be prepared for offences, even in the holiest works which we engage in, and even if we could do it, it were a very indiscreet zeal that would separate the mission of the present from the culture of the present. We should thereby saw through, if not the whole, yet a good part of the branch on which we sit; or to use the biblical comparison, we should uproot much wheat with the tares.

It is essential to a right treatment of the subject to take into account also the furtherances which the modern culture undeniably contributes to the mission, else we should incur the merited reproach of blind blustering. Thus, it is one of the many one-sided statements and over-statements of Menzel, that "all so-called Christians, wherever they come, slaughter the poor heathen, rob them of their lands, or enslave them." It is a misrepresentation that "the colonists who came in multitudes from England destroyed the work of the missionaries in New Zealand," and other statements of a like character. God be thanked! not all emigrants are godless and immoral creatures. There are among them also upright men and faithful Christians, who, by word and example, directly and indirectly, build up the kingdom of God among the heathen, and render good service towards civilizing them. Among the numerous colonists of the

Polynesian Islands and of South Africa, there are not a few furtherers of the evangelisation of the heathen. British, American, and German commercial houses support the mission as their pioneer and helper; many officers and soldiers of the English army and navy—as Sir Herbert Edwardes, Major Martin, General Havelock, Commander Markham, and many others—as also a great number of officials of the British Colonial Government especially—we mention only Sir Lawrence,* Bartle Frere, Napier, Muir, Gordon, &c., have rendered to the mission the most valuable services. The “father of missionaries,” Hendrik van Zyl, in South Africa, and Emde, the “watch-maker of Surabaya” in Java, have become universally known through the fine monument which Wallmann has erected to them. But how many like furtherers of missions are there among the emigrants of all lands, whose names and doings have obtained less publicity!

The Apostle Paul writes to the Thessalonians (2 Thess. iii. 1)—“Beloved brethren, pray for us, that the Word of the Lord may run.” As in the apostolic time, so now also, the Word of God is running before, along with, and behind the missionary proper. It diffuses the fragrance further than the feet of the messengers make their imprint, or the sound of their words reaches. God makes even the air a herald of the Gospel, and the wings of the wind do service as His messengers. Our Kingly Lord has in great wisdom ordained it so, that the great mission periods always fall upon times in which a great movement and migration is going on among the

* So the Author. It matters not whether he meant Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, or his brother Sir Henry, the latter of whom it is my delight to have numbered among my intimate friends.—*Trans.*

peoples. As, on the one hand, the mission does cultural service, so on the other, culture also does missionary service. It is a well-known fact, for example, that Japan, which was so long closed, has been opened to the Gospel through help of the modern commerce, and that China also has been constrained by the same means to open its ports to foreigners, and its long-closed regions are becoming more and more open. The direct incitement to the establishment of a mission in the territory of King Mtesa, Uganda on Lake Victoria Nyanza, we owe to the travels of discovery of Stanley. That the missionaries of the Basel Missionary Society have been able at last to find firm footing in the Ashantee-kingdom is in no small degree a consequence of the victory of the English arms. "Life on the Gold-Coast," it is said in the interesting Annual Report, "has experienced a remarkable revolution during the past year. A fresh movement has taken the place of the previous stagnation. The English Government is displaying an energy which could not be perceived during the last quarter of a century. The chiefs and kings must simply obey; slavery is abolished, roads are projected and formed, government-buildings are erected, new officials are appointed, troops are enlisted, police are introduced, the establishment of schools is in hand, &c. The feeling of the missionaries, the churches, and the people is in general changed. Fear for the future and depression of spirit have given way to joyous expectation and to new activity. The churches are again in better order since the return of the men from the war; the heathen have received a strong impression from the subjugation of the Ashantees,—the advantage of education is recognised as it never was

before. Many are embracing Christianity. Our mission has obtained a recognition on the part of the English Government, such as we should never have expected for it." Since then it is known that the two first mission-stations in the kingdom of Ashantee have been actually founded.

But it is not only that commerce, in its manifold ramifications, first opens to us many missions-fields, and places the missionaries under a certain protection of right ; it works also, both negatively and positively, for the Christianising of the heathen ; negatively, through the overthrow of heathen superstition and heathen immorality ; positively, through the formation of a spiritual atmosphere, and the conscious and unconscious introduction of Christian views and sentiments.¹ Commerce is a leveller. Only ignorance or narrow-mindedness can question that in India the Government has not only abolished widow-burning and child-murder, but has also effected a far-reaching undermining of Hinduism by the introduction of European refinement and civilization, which must of necessity be favourable to the mission. What an important mission-pioneering service, for example, the railway has rendered, has been already pointed out. In like manner, it is manifest that the introduction of European culture into Japan, notwithstanding all the elements of unbelief and immorality which are rushing in along with it, is preparing a field for evangelical Christianity. The old religions necessarily crumble down in presence of the new civilization. Japan needs and seeks a new religion. In a similar manner, the way was prepared for the Gospel in the Sandwich Islands. Through the conquests and experiments in

civilization of Kamehameha I., as well as through the breach of Tapu by Liholiho, his successor, without the inducement of any religious motives, and the formal renunciation of idolatry, "the valleys were exalted and the hills brought low," just when the voice of the messengers of peace was heard.

There are also in this respect preparations going on now, similar to those in the time of the apostles. In a heathenism become unbelieving, is being developed a receptiveness for the Gospel of Christ. As Pilate was the representative of a great portion of the refined Greco-Roman world of his time, so also of many Hindus, Japanese, and other heathens of the present day. We know very well that a heathenism become unbelieving is all the less to be regarded as a Christian conquest, that it is unbelieving, nominal Christians, through whose words and actions this religious bankruptcy has been brought about; still, we have assured confidence that, as in the first centuries of the Christian era, it was not scepticism and unbelief, but the Gospel of Christ that gained the victory; so it will turn out also with the heathen peoples of the present day. As no living being can exist in a vacuum, so no people can in continuance endure the vacuum of unbelief. No one lives by the destruction of food. When a people has, like the prodigal son, spent its religious inheritance, it then begins to starve; and when it has long enough had experience of the husks of unbelief, it says, at least in its better parts: "I will arise and go to my Father." The unbelieving modern culture makes the heathen peoples hungry, by helping to destroy their ancestral beliefs, and in full time the mission finds a people

become hungry, to which it offers, not in vain, the bread of life.

But more positive preparations for the evangelising of the peoples also go forth from the modern civilization. Of necessity a knowledge of Christianity, though it may be but superficial, is spread among the heathen people with whom the world-commerce comes in contact. So, for example, in geographical and historical books, which are written and read by the heathen Chinese, is found a short "sketch of the doctrine by means of which the foreign barbarians hope to be happy after death." In India, also, the representatives of the Brahma Samaji have, by their discourses and their writings, contributed to make the Gospel of Christ known among the educated Hindus. Even controversial writings in opposition to Christianity, such as are the order of the day in India, in China, and even in Japan, must tend to direct the attention of the body of the people to Christianity, as they are also proofs that acquaintance with the doctrines and facts of the Gospel extends far beyond the circle of baptized converts. In all mission-fields, but chiefly in those which are in closest contact with the Western culture, such as India, China, and Japan, there are tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, who, without becoming Christians, have adopted Christian views and habits. A similar process is going on among the barbarous peoples. Without perceiving it, they change their habits and their superstitious views under the influence of the forces of Western culture, amidst which they are placed. Without observation, a new spiritual atmosphere is being formed, which, by decomposing heathenism, is working out a preparation for evangelisation. Only, this sort of

preparation is for the most part very tedious, and is not always in ways with which we have sympathy. But all ameliorations, even those of the spiritual field, require a long time, and means of amelioration are, apart from circumstantial improvements of all sorts, in no small measure, products of decomposition. Before the mission-field can be sown, often before it can be ploughed, it must be levelled, drained, and manured; and to this auxiliary work culture oftentimes contributes, under the leading of Divine Providence. Thereby there comes much seed of tares into the soil, but we must not forget that never and nowhere in this world does the sower scatter his seed only upon clean, good land (Matt. xiii. 3). We may regret that the preparatory help-work of culture is neither in general carried on from morally noble motives nor has in view ideal evangelical aims, that it rather pursues selfish ends, and suffers itself to be led by selfish motives; but it ever remains a triumph of Divine Providence that it can turn all things, even the egotism of men, indirectly to the furtherance of the interests of God's kingdom, and can regulate even evil, so that good comes of it at the last. With reference to the heartless representatives of the modern culture among the heathen of the present day, the old saying holds good: "Ye thought to do evil, but God thought to do good, that He might do as it is this day, to save much people" (Gen. i. 20).

We must, in conclusion, attend to another important matter, by which civilization renders an important pioneer service to the mission, especially if it comprehends and seeks to accomplish its task, not only in egoistic, but also in moral and educational directions—namely, that it is an educator to and through labour. It

has been already adverted to in the former department of our inquiry, that in training to labour lies a chief secret of civilizing. The colonial governments, as well as commerce, have before them a great field of action in this direction, which their own interests must induce them to cultivate. We shall show further on that certainly that interest, when it has been exclusively impressed into the service of covetousness, has led to the grossest wrongs committed upon the savage and the half-civilized peoples. But we must not, on account of these impressions, overlook the blessings which—although often enough not philanthropy, but selfishness, has formed the leading motives—have in part accrued to savages, who by nature are excessively inclined to laziness, in that directly and indirectly they have become accustomed to labour; and we rejoice that more and more that sentimental philanthropy which fosters laziness, instead of overcoming it, is recognised as folly. The maxim which is more and more energetically acted on by the English colonial policy, *We must make these Kaffirs work*, when it is brought into practice in a humane way, gives a help to the work of the mission which cannot be sufficiently estimated.

“Every proper Englishman,” says the very learned Hübbe-Schleiden, in his excellent book *Ethiopia*, with reference to this very point, “carries with him something of that special good tone which is chiefly heard in Exeter Hall, and which makes the stranger think of home, somewhat as the church-music of a Palæstrina or an Orlando-di-Lasso does the musician of the present day. But such *doctrinaire* abstractions, however well meaning they may be, are perfectly unintelligible to men in the state of nature. On the negro they are in favourable

cases only lost; in other cases he abuses them." "Doctrine alone," he says in a passage worthy of special attention, "does not make culture; rather it is only the practical working of it that first attracts barbarians to it. If ever any doctrine can make a beginning of such development, it is that one which stands at the beginning of all human culture: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Culture does not come to men from without, but through self-acting development of its forces from within; and wherever missions have been conducted on this principle, they have had success. But the means are wanting of carrying out this principle on a larger scale, and of pressing on with it into the interior, and even the great institutions for training the negroes through and to labour would not help them much, unless the realisation of the products of such labour were made possible by trade. To accomplish this task effectually is possible only to commerce or kindred undertakings, and to missions only when they are supported by such undertakings. They must labour in the service of commerce, which there represents civilization; and this commerce, or these undertakings, can do nothing better than work along with the missions prudently, so as to turn to account their practical powers, and be helpful to them in continually extending the ground once won.

In order to this, certainly the spirit which now rules the commerce there (in West Africa, but also in many other countries) must be greatly changed; and I do not say this only with reference to the system of trust-giving [a system of credit which the author regards as the chief evil of the trade carried on there, and which he designates as "a crime without extenuating circum-

stances"], but with reference to the whole character of European management; for at present, the isolated efforts of the missions among the coast tribes are counteracted not only by the wildness of nature, but also by the bewilderment of our uncomprehended culture. This evil it will be difficult to remove. But the spirit which is there working extensively can and must be regenerated; and until it be changed there will scarcely be a word to say of a development of the Ethiopians, or a successful education of them by means of labour. Still, there is reason to hope that at a not far distant future, missionaries, teachers, and workmen, in association with a rational commerce, will penetrate with a blessing into the interior of the country. This culture-problem is the mission of commerce; its gospel is *labour*."

Wherever commerce or colonial governments accomplish this task, where they succeed, by authority, by moral and intellectual ascendancy, by rectitude, humanity and patience—much patience—in making uncivilized men work, and in inspiring them with a sentiment of order, punctuality, law, and obedience, there they render to the mission an important pioneer-service; and again, wherever commerce secures to the barbarians who have become Christians, the means of earning their bread in the sweat of their face, and of improving their material condition by honourable industry, then it is a welcome ally in the difficult work of their education. We acknowledge with thankfulness that especially the English colonial governments, though with varying ability and success in the several colonial territories, exert themselves to accomplish this culture-task, and that in the closest possible co-operation with the missions, of

whose efforts for the good of the natives, as well as for the sound development of their own rule, they understand the value, and therefore, as a rule, support them according to their ability; while the Dutch system of labour-tax in the Sunda Islands, so far as we can judge of it and examine its results, serves far less the objects in question. There are also, God be thanked, not a few commercial houses, and among them especially German, Hamburg, and Bremen firms—as is strikingly shown, for example, by the report of the German government regarding the friendly relation with Samoa—which, by means of trade conducted in the spirit of kindness and rectitude, are exerting an influence on the advancement and education of the natives, which indirectly and directly is favourable to the mission. Would that there were on the part of commerce as hearty a recognition of the efforts of the mission, and that the acknowledgment were more general, that in a full respecting of the tasks and objects, as well as the limits of the two cultural forces, a friendly greeting and co-operation is demanded for their mutual advantage as well as for the good of the natives.

While we distinctly recognise a preparatory importance of the modern culture for the extension of the kingdom of God among the heathen, notwithstanding the selfish motives, the unworthy behaviour, and the anti-missionary position of many of its representatives, yet we are far from advocating the view that the mission needs not begin its work until culture has finished its, at least in a relative way; in other words, that in principle and systematically culture must precede the mission. It astonishes us to find even so sound a moralist as priest

Gerland among the apologists of this theory. "The nature-peoples," he writes, "must first be made human, then Christian. They are slowly trained to and through culture, whose highest bloom will be Christianity. Not knowledge and understanding—were it even the highest wisdom—but rather action and independent formation of their own life, give to men their moral standing and their moral strength. Let these be awakened, strengthened, promoted, and Christianity is promoted. It is nevertheless true that those criminals who have escaped from the convict settlements, and squatted in various districts of Oceania, by the fragments of culture which they have communicated to the natives, have prepared and smoothed the way for Christianity and the missionaries, without their wishing it, and although along with the culture they at the same time taught them many crimes. But if we *will* see speedy results without sufficient preparation, we shall effect nothing. The mission reports sufficiently prove how foolish such an attempt is, and how often it leads to the most lamentable self-deception. Only the most loving labour and the self-sacrificing devotion of many generations can produce real and permanent results. We do not demand of the nature-peoples to rise by flight to the height of refinement which the most gifted culture-peoples have reached in the course of centuries, with so frequent relapses, so keen conflicts, so constant labour."

If the closing remark of the foregoing quotation, with which in other respects we perfectly agree, be placed in immediate connection with the question under consideration, then we must evidently wait for centuries with the evangelising of the nature-peoples—which

cannot be in reality the meaning of a man who expressly confesses that the Polynesians owe their salvation to the missionaries. The whole mission of the present day among the nature-peoples, of which Gerland himself speaks with so high recognition, would have been a useless undertaking, had it been necessary that it should be preceded by a tedious elevation of them to the height of our culture. Yet more; condemnation must be passed upon the mediæval mission among the Germanic and Slavonic peoples, for in point of fact culture did not prepare the way for it, but conversely it for culture. Thus it is impossible that the professor can hold his theory in full earnest. It is very defectively supported even by the facts to which he alludes. Of course one might speak of a preparatory influence of European civilization in Hawaii, New Zealand, Fiji, Tahiti, and the Gilbert and Marshall Islands under certain limitations, but upon the whole the fact is that in the South Sea Islands culture prepared the way for the mission, less than conversely the mission prepared it for culture. Certainly the "way-preparing and smoothing" services, which escaped convicts have rendered to the evangelisation of Oceania, must be reduced to incalculably few cases, which were more than neutralised by the multitude of stumbling-blocks and hindrances which were thrown in the way of the mission by these doubtful representatives of civilization. Sanguine missionaries, who expected "speedy results without sufficient preparation," have often been disappointed; such disappointments are not wanting also among sanguine culture-theorists, who addict themselves to the idea that the possession of a certain civilization is the surest

way to the acceptance of Christianity. Outside of India and China, for example, British Kaffraria and Java are not deficient in such examples of self-deception.

It is very prettily said that we "must first awaken, strengthen, and promote the activity which gives to men moral standing and moral strength," before we bring Christianity to them. Only we beg for information as to the secret of the means by which the realisation of this good counsel is to be effected. It is called mockery to deal with a man when we ask something from him which he, *as he is*, cannot perform, and when we put into his hands no sufficient means for its performance. "Oh, these impotent doctrines!" exclaims Adolf Monod, with reference to the enemies of the faith, who say to the sinner: "Do good works, subdue your passions; be temperate, honest, stainless, and you shall obtain pardon of your sins." "Oh, these impotent doctrines! which give counsels to a sick man, which his sickness makes it impossible for him to follow; which say to a lame man, walk; to a blind man, see; to a sinner, sin not." That is, to use a strong expression of Ludwig Harm, to yoke the horses behind the waggon. "Give what thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt," says, on the other hand, the wise Augustine. To us it seems that it is just the Gospel that gives the strength which awakens the required energy, and imparts the indispensable moral standing. We plant and promote civilization when we present the Gospel, and we make the nature-peoples human by making them Christians. Christianity is not the bloom but the root; culture is not the root but a bloom of Christianity. Apart from a few half-successful experiments, as perhaps those of

the Raja Brooke in Sarawak, we look in vain in the history of the ancient and the modern mission for examples of the heathen being slowly prepared, to and through culture, for the acceptance of Christianity; while conversely there is no lack of examples that the systematic way through civilization to evangelization has been not only a circuitous but a wrong way.

Samuel Marsden, the founder of the New Zealand Mission, at first shared the view now put forth by Gerland. "Civilization," he declared, "must work in preparation for conversion. As the natives on these islands are altogether without contact with the commercial world, they are necessarily in a condition of greater ignorance and barbarism. They are on that account less prepared for the acceptance of the Gospel than the Eskimos in Labrador and the negroes in the West Indies. Trade, manufactures, and arts are naturally fitted to plant industry and taste among a people, and thereby to prepare the way for the introduction of the Gospel, and to lay the foundation of a Christian community." "But the first experiments," remarks Meinicke, "might have shown that the whole plan was a failure; not a single conversion was reported. The children were sent to the schools because the clergymen gave them food and clothing; the iron implements which they distributed, and on which the greatest hopes were placed, every one received willingly, and upon the whole the agriculture was greatly improved, but only for the purpose of bartering the produce for gunpowder and muskets, and setting off, as soon as the harvest was over, to rob and murder. The taste for such expeditions grew, instead of disappearing. In addition to this, the position

of the missionaries was meantime very insecure. Their property appeared to the natives so valuable that it incited them to attacks and robberies, and the total want of authority was a great inducement thereto." In short, the whole experiment, which had been eagerly undertaken, collapsed; and after twenty years' experience Marsden himself declared: "Civilization is not necessary before Christianity. We may give them both simultaneously if we will; but it will always be found that civilization follows Christianity, rather than conversely. If we speak with a poor heathen simply of his God and Saviour he will understand it. The heathen are no blockheads; they apprehend the things of God more readily than learned gentlemen among ourselves. The rest will come of itself." Similar experiences resulted from repeated civilization-experiments on the Papuas in New Holland. At first the Government granted them a large territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Port Jackson, and employed all means of persuasion and encouragement to allure them to permanent settlement, cultivation and useful manufactures. But the blacks soon disappeared; and now stately country-seats of white men occupy the site of the former Black Town. No better fared it with the model husbandry at Paramaga, in the neighbourhood of Sydney. Some black families were settled there, and provided with all that was necessary for land cultivation. A qualified superintendent was at the head of the whole enterprise, and gave instructions in the works of husbandry. The children of the natives were taken into an institution and educated. Yet the undertaking was an utter failure, and had to be abandoned after a few years. It is well

known how the Mission of the Church of the Brethren afterwards succeeded in that which these civilization-experiments attempted in vain.

Experiments have been made with individual barbarians to improve them by means of our civilization. The best known is the history of Omai of Raiatea, whom Cook brought with him to London. When he was taken back to his home, a European house was built for him, a beautiful garden was planted around it, and presents were made him, not only of horses and goats, but of gunpowder, balls, muskets, swords, an electric machine, a barrel organ, and all sorts of toys and gew-gaws. And what was the consequence of this civilization without Christ? As soon as the ships were gone, Omai abandoned his clothing. He was the king's friend, and must often shoot a man to show how far his musket would carry, or how quickly his pistol would kill! In other respects he lived in idleness and profligacy till his end. Similar was the case of the New Zealand chief Hongi, who, in like manner, was taken to London and was there "civilized." The first thing he did after his return to New Zealand was after a battle in which he was victorious, he tore out and swallowed the right eye of his slain enemy, and bit into the still fluttering heart, while around him hundreds of slain foes served as food for his victorious army! When we inquire into the causes of the failure of the old Portuguese mission in the kingdom of Congo, they are not to be sought in any want of attempts at civilization. It is asserted by some that such attempts must precede the introduction of Christianity. Now, in Congo they were made in abundance. But, as has been truly remarked, the character of

heathenism is indolence ; and as long as no moral and spiritual elevation has taken place, no forward or upward movement can be expected in a heathen community. From within to without, not from without to within, the genuine ways of the salvation of men, and also the ways of culture proceed, otherwise there is only varnish and show. It is a universal experience that wherever the natives have come into contact with the European civilization by means of commercial intercourse, without at the same time, being placed under the influence of Christianity, neither their energy nor their morality has been, upon the whole, improved. On the contrary, one hears on the part of the whites only lamentation over increasing depravity and untrustworthiness, as merchants and travellers again and again assert, and Waitz proves, *e.g.*, of the negroes. Greed may indeed make the natives more cunning and the desire of imitation may induce them to the adoption of many European customs ; but whether they are thereby won for civilization, or brought a hair's-breadth nearer the acceptance of the Gospel, is very doubtful. The "loving labour and the self-sacrificing devotion" which Gerland rightly requires, in order to the exertion of a blessed influence, are wanting in most of the representatives of civilization. What brings them among the heathen, and especially characterises their action among them, is egoism in a coarser or more refined form. A pure culture-mission, which from nobler motives has proposed as its aim the elevation of the heathen in civilization and morals, we have not till this day seen, and it is scarcely to be expected that such will ever be set agoing.

But do we not, by this argumentation, put ourselves

in contradiction with our previous assertion of a preparatory importance, for the Christianising of the nations, of the spread of modern civilization by means of commerce? We think otherwise; only it is necessary in this matter to divide and distinguish. It is one thing to acknowledge the manifold services which commerce renders to the mission incidentally, for the most part unconsciously and indirectly, and quite another thing to make civilization systematically a mission-method. In the former case we stand in the presence of the Divine discipline which is both governing and evangelising the world, which knows how to employ the cultural development of mankind, with all its attendant evils, to break down the walls of heathenism, and to prepare the way for Christianity. In the latter case we have to do with a false principle, which sets out with an over-estimate of the nature and the powers of civilization, and an under-estimate of the nature and power of the Gospel. Nothing but dark jugglery can deduce this principle from that fact. Although in the apostolic age the universal diffusion of the Greek language, and in the middle age the conquest policy of Charlemagne undeniably prepared the way for the mission, no one would deduce from this the principle, that the universal diffusion of a language—as English, *e.g.*, at the present day—or the wars of conquest of Christian rulers, must of necessity precede the extension of the Gospel, and be converted into a mission-method. Just so it is with contemporary civilization. The world-governing wisdom of God permits it to render subordinate service to the extension of His kingdom among the heathen; but what is a triumph of the divine providence man cannot, without more to do, make a rule of his conduct.

In late years the great famines have been the means, in the hand of God, who has visited these lands, to open the door of faith to many of their inhabitants; but nobody would on that account venture on the assertion that we must first produce great famines in order to make the heathen people receptive of the Gospel! The world-ruling God, of whom it is said in a well-known hymn, "He has ways in every direction, He never is destitute of means," is, if we may venture to say so, an educator on a large scale, and His manifold (πολυποίκιλος) wisdom preserves His methods of evangelisation from all narrow-minded methodicalness. All things must serve Him, and He rules all in accordance with His holy thoughts of peace; even when men think to do evil, He knows to turn their sin into blessing. Even in the history of missions, His thoughts are often enough not our thoughts, nor His ways our ways. We must think after His thoughts and walk after His ways, in order to escape that stiff and narrow methodicalness which knows only one way of evangelising the nations. As in the Old Testament times, hewers of wood and drawers of water were required in the sanctuary, so, in the New Testament temple-service, Gibeonites are appointed, who must help, even without their knowledge or will, that in all manner of ways the Gospel of Christ may advance. We are large-hearted enough fully and thankfully to acknowledge that work of the outer court which the modern civilization is doing for the mission of the present, but while we are so, we can neither regard it as the *conditio sine qua non* for Christianising, nor resolve to do that work ourselves before we preach the Gospel.

We hope that our impartial recognition of the services

which culture renders to the mission sufficiently secures us from the charge of unfairness or blustering, and that it will continue to do so, when we now proceed to treat of the reverse side of the medal. The modern civilization has indeed a side fraught with extreme danger for the welfare of the heathen, and especially for their Christianisation; and that in two respects—first, because the spirit which actuates many of its representatives is too frequently, alas! not the spirit of Christian love, but that of unrestricted selfishness; and, secondly, because our absolute superiority in culture makes it so difficult to evangelise the people with educational wisdom.

The mission-inspector, Plath, in his address delivered after his return from his Indian visitation-tour, published under the title of *Northern Impressions of Missions*, after doing the fullest justice to preparatory cultural influences in the Christianising of the country, and especially to the action of the Indo-British Government, goes on to say: "The silent revolution thus introduced would advance much more successfully still, were it not for one thing. However much the new ordinances and regulations are antagonistic to heathenism and Islam, one thing is decidedly favourable to these systems. While the one (the *ensemble* of European culture) acts almost like a hot-house, as when amongst us the growth of tropical plants is promoted by a warmer atmosphere, the other may be likened to a cold-house, in which by ice-machines and other appliances in hot countries, the atmosphere is so cooled down that northern plants can grow in it. What is that which is producing so cooling an effect in India? The sins of the Christians living among the heathen and the Mohammedans, of Europeans and Americans, who

though baptized, have fallen away from Christian faith and Christian morality. Among the civilians, military men, planters and merchants, there are, alas! not many pious Christian men. Most of them lead a worldly life in our sense of the term; many are shamelessly addicted to drunkenness and unchastity. . . . It is thus no wonder that intelligent heathens and Mohammedans with reference to these sins inquire whether this be among the blessings of Christianity."

A respected and intelligent Hindu, Surendra Nath Banerjya, a heathen, said, in a meeting of students in Calcutta on the 28th of April, 1877: "What India requires for its regeneration is not so much Christian Bible passages, sermons, and addresses, but the presentation of a truly Christian life, a gentleness, a meekness, a love, a forgiveness, such as that was for which Christ lived and died. The great contrast between what Christ taught, and what one in India sees of Christian life, has been the greatest hindrance to the spread of this religion."

"Of all that I heard in India," said Mr. Duckworth, at a farewell service on the departure of missionaries, "nothing made a deeper impression on me than what was once publicly said by a native of high position and intelligence, two of whose children were baptized, but who himself belonged to the class of *almost Christians*: 'If the Christians here would only put in practice a tithe of what they profess, India would soon be converted. What we ask of you is not Christianity, but Christians.' It is well known that, at least in former days, it used to be said of Englishmen going to India that they left their religion at the Cape."

We have similar complaints from all mission-fields. A native Japanese, in his pamphlet *A Japanese in America*, writes thus: "The conduct of the foreigners, with exception of the missionaries and a few laymen, is a scandal on the name of Christianity and of civilization, and retards the progress of both. . . . Such behaviour at home would be criminally prosecuted, but in the lands of the East these European tyrants are under the protection of the cannon. Let them treat a native ever so shamefully, he must swallow his vexation, unless he lose his discretion. If he do not, he brings the whole of his dear fatherland into danger of being made to expiate the suffering of a hair in the head of one of these villains. The fact is not difficult to explain, that Christianity has made no great progress outside of Europe. It needs only be considered that those Christians who go into foreign lands behave worse, or at all events not better, than the heathen. Above all, they are slaves of Mammon; they frequent bad houses; they swear most thoughtlessly; they insult the natives, jeer and maltreat them, and conduct themselves as loftily as if each one of them were a Julius Cæsar. And all this goes on on Sundays even more than on week-days."

"There is no doubt," says the discreet and experienced missionary, Hugo Hahn, who for several decades has nobly borne the burden and heat of the day among the Herero in South Africa, "that the immoral and generally anti-christian Europeans are everywhere the greatest hindrance of the mission of our day. Here and elsewhere, where the restraints of decency are not to be respected, they show themselves as they are, in all their alienation from God, and in all their pollution. The

ground of the bitter hatred of so many against the mission is, that the presence of the missionaries is still somewhat a restraint upon them. Without exception, I have hitherto found that the Europeans who remained in real connection with their churches, and still possessed the feeling of propriety and love of virtue, were friendly to the mission; while with the others the love of sensuality inspired their hatred against the mission. Wherever such Christians are met with in the heathen world there is discovered a depth of moral starvation, a bankruptcy of all feeling for what is good."

On the West Coast of Africa the experiences are similar; and even from Oceania we hear the same complaints. Let us hear only Professor Gerland, a witness as competent as he is impartial: "In the first place, it must be confessed that all culture-peoples have conducted themselves in the same way, cruelly, recklessly, and unmanfully towards the nature-peoples who have come into contact with them—Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch, English, French. . . . The almost always inhuman and murderous way in which the Europeans subdued the nature-peoples, and generally exceeded them greatly in savagery, compels us to an anthropological conclusion of no small importance, for we see clearly that 'the gulf which separates the civilized man from the barbarian is by no means so wide as is commonly supposed.' . . . Let it not be said that the atrocities perpetrated by the Europeans were the doings only of individuals, and so that only the particular individuals should bear the blame of them; they were pretty equally practised by the whole colonial people, and were everywhere highly approved by them; yea, they are very far from being reprobated even now."

These are, however, general verdicts. In order to justify them, we must not refrain from adducing special facts. But among the masses of these it is manifest that we can only deal with a small selection. We purpose to make this selection, so that we shall not only advert to the most diverse countries, but also shall communicate only such facts as are characteristic of the conduct of whole classes of white nominal Christians towards the natives, and whose argumentative force cannot be shaken by the excuse that they were only single individuals, who by such enormities have covered the Christian name with reproach among the heathen.

In 1876 the last Tasmanian died. Whatever doubtful questions there may be about one point and another relating to the dying-out of the nature-peoples, we have no occasion to discuss it with reference to the native Tasmanians. They were thoroughly peaceful men, these Tasmanians. But how were they treated? Let us first hear Gerland. "In Tasmania," he writes, "the population is simply destroyed in consequence of the English war of extermination against them." "It has not vanished before the civilization—as the modern theory represents it—but before the barbarity of the white men. They were shot down like wild beasts; regular hunts were undertaken against them through the island." "Here also was a convict settlement, and what consequences it brought upon the natives the following story shows. A convict persuaded a native, to whom he gave a loaded gun, that if he fired into his ear, he would have a very pleasant sensation. He showed him with an unloaded gun what he had to do. Whereupon, of course, the native shot himself! In other respects

also they were most shamefully treated, like wild beasts, as is officially confirmed. At the time of the first settlement an officer amused himself with firing cartridges among the peaceful natives! Other scandalous deeds of the same kind occurred frequently, and it was not till 1810, seven years after the colonisation, that it was decreed that the murder of a native should be regarded and punished as murder. At last the embittered natives were roused, in 1826, to a war of life or death, in which they were with difficulty, but effectually, subdued, a reward of £5 being offered for the capture of an adult, and one of £2 for that of a child. Darwin, who is of the opinion that their extermination is due to their shameful treatment by the English, likens the war against them to one of the great East Indian hunts.”²

How literally accurate this comparison of Darwin's is, proof is furnished by the *Ausland*, without its uttering a word of indignation. “In the year 1830, the governor Arthur resolved by a raid to drive out all the blacks who were in the island. The plan of operations was published beforehand in the newspapers, and it consisted in driving the natives, by an immense cordon, to Tasman's Peninsula, which is attached to the island only by a narrow isthmus. Once there, they would be easily watched, and the colony would be freed from the plague and the danger of them. Although all experienced hunters shook their heads at the undertaking, yet, besides 300 soldiers of the line, 3560 volunteers presented themselves for the ‘savage-hunt.’ On the 4th of October, 1830, the several parties mustered at the rendezvous, and began to extend themselves into a cordon, yet so that nowhere was there a greater space betwixt two men than 60 paces.

The absence of danger and the novelty of the undertaking had induced many amateurs to attach themselves to the line, as the cordon was called."

We shall call only one perfectly impartial witness as to the treatment of the Tasmanians by the white colonists, in order to complete our proof that not only the Christianisation, but even the civilization of the barbarians has nothing to expect from the far greatest number of representatives of culture in foreign lands. Christmann, who, in his book *Australia*, delineates with considerable interest the war of extermination waged against the natives, communicates the following traits amongst others: "No armed cattle-herd allowed any opportunity to escape which offered itself of shooting down a native like a dangerous beast of prey. A few stripes were regarded as a sufficient punishment when any one mutilated a coloured boy by cutting off, *e.g.*, his ears and his nose, or hacking off his little finger, to be used as a pipe-stopper! . . . The colonists united together, and in the neighbourhood of the cities and the principal settlements, undertook excursions into the woods, to drive back, as they said, the hostile tribes, but, in fact, to exterminate them. The horrible deeds that were done in these raids makes one's hair stand on end. Thus, on one occasion, a band of blacks, men, women, and children, were discovered by means of their fire, and a number of colonists immediately armed themselves—as the technical term was—to hunt them. They came unobserved close upon the encampment, when the dogs of the Australians gave the alarm. The natives sprang to their feet; but at the same moment some of them fell dead, and all who could not get out of the light of their own fire were slaughtered.

So it was with the women who did not save themselves by timely flight. When the battle was won (!) a little child was found, creeping on the ground. One of the inhuman Europeans caught it by the feet and tossed it into the fire."

"The aboriginal population in Polynesia," says the distinguished Wallace, according to the statements of Gerland in the *Globus*, "remains only where few white men have homes; but whenever these settle—almost in all cases without wives—they take away the best and strongest native women. In consequence of this disturbance of the balance of the sexes, fruitfulness diminishes among the aborigines, the diminution being hastened by imported diseases and spirituous liquors. It is not before the civilization, but before the barbarism, of the whites, that the inferior races disappear. For what else is the taking away of the women? (it is, of course, only for so-called temporary, that is, irregular marriage). What else is the forcible dispossession of the natives, who are not allowed to have any right to their lands and fields, simply because they are the weaker?—what else is the introduction—and in Polynesia and America too often the forcible introduction—of spirits, but such white barbarism?" It is to be well observed that it is not missionaries, but representatives of science, like Wallace and Gerland, who maintain this view.

We only refer, in passing, to the Maori wars, which undoubtedly were brought on mainly through the fault of the English, the Government as well as the colonists. The complaints which the natives in New Zealand made of the arbitrarily legalised purchase of land, the injustice of the taxes imposed upon them, the want of legal protection, the introduction of brandy, &c., cannot be regarded

by impartial judges as altogether unfounded. We mention only cursorily the French occupation of Tahiti, which resulted not only in a bloody revolt of the natives against their unrighteous aggressors, but also in the saddest religious oppressions and disturbances. As is shown by Meinicke in his book on *The Islands of the Pacific Ocean*—a work founded on the most solid studies, and rigidly objective—as is described in detail by Christmann and Oberlander in their *Oceania*—as is proved from original sources by Gerland in the sixth volume of Waitz's *Anthropology of the Nature-Peoples*—there is hardly a group of islands on which white traders and squatters have not been guilty of more or less crying wrongs inflicted on the natives. Although in vindication of so many wrongs there is pleaded the right of self-defence against the inhumanities of the natives, yet this attempted justification in most cases fails, because as a rule the whites had been the first to provoke these cruelties. Thus, for example, writes the missionary Murray, a man acquainted with the circumstances of these islands through a residence of forty years: "So far as my experience goes, the character which the earlier visitors have attributed to the natives is not deserved. [Be it noted, in passing, that we see from this apology for the natives, which accords with numerous similar testimonies from other mission fields, how unfounded is the reproach which is so constantly brought against the missionaries, that they take pleasure in painting the natives as black as possible.] Doubtless the black tribes on some islands in Torres Straits have been guilty of great barbarities; but it is very probable that their behaviour would have been entirely different under a

different treatment of them by the foreigners. I have wandered freely among them, not only when others had been before me, but also where foot of white man had never trodden, without any weapon, and I have never been in any way injured by them. I have found in my long experience that the law ever holds good in intercourse with men, whether barbarians or civilized, that what we do to others they do to us in return. Our treatment of them regulates theirs of us. Exceptions to this law occur rather among civilized men than among barbarians."

How painfully has the mission often had to pay for the cruelties perpetrated by the whites, by which the natives have been roused to vengeance. Only two examples may be adduced in which this fact is positively proved. It is well known that John Williams, the apostle of the South Seas, was killed by the Erromangans in revenge for the excesses committed by the sandal-wood traders. "The sandal-wood," writes the missionary Gill, "which is brought into market from the New Hebrides, is literally stained with human blood. We could tell of horrible things which the cannibal islanders have perpetrated on the foreigners; but we say not too much when we assert that not a tenth part of these atrocities would have been committed by them had not the far greater wrong-doings of the white man incited them to revenge and retaliation. Indeed, one cannot but wonder that a single foreigner was allowed to come off with his life when he was once in their power. We have heard of sandal-wood traders who first invited a chief to come on board, and then kept him, perfectly innocent though he was, as a prisoner until the natives had brought whole boat-loads

of sandal-wood for his ransom. A captain came to one of the New Hebrides Islands, not far from Erromango, but found that the natives were at war with a neighbouring tribe. They declared that they could deliver no sandal-wood so long as the war lasted. Thereupon the captain offered to help them against their enemies if they would supply him with a full cargo of sandal-wood. The offer was joyfully accepted, and immediately the captain sailed for those parts of the island where the enemy was. Here, with horrible hypocrisy, he formed friendly relations with them, and invited them on board his ship. Whole flocks of them went. Then the signal was given, and all the astonished natives were slain, except such as leapt into the sea and escaped by swimming. A single individual was spared and retained as a prisoner. With this spoil the captain returned, and delivered his prisoner into the hands of his enemies, who received him with great jubilation, slew, and ate him. Then the ship was laden with sandal-wood in all quietness."

The second example of vengeance taken on the missionaries for the violent deeds of unprincipled "civilized" white men, is the murder of the noble Bishop Patteson. The Oceanian colonies, which were extending year by year, needed labourers, and the white people were not in sufficient numbers; therefore it was tried to get black and brown labourers. The colonists promised to the ships' captains a bounty of about £10 for every islander that they brought, and it may be supposed that so lucrative a trade would be gladly undertaken. It is far from us to impute to the colonists a direct intention of introducing a new species of slavery

and slave-hunting. But, in point of fact, the procuring of natives, often from the most distant islands, assumes the character of the worst sort of kidnapping. Even where there was a desire to deal fairly, there was often wanting the means of communicating intelligibly with the islanders, who speak many and diverse languages. The poor natives who were hired as labourers in most cases knew neither what they should have to do nor how much pay was promised them; neither where they were going nor when they were to return. The meanest deception was practised in the formation of sham contracts. For example, the ignorant people were made to hold up their fingers and to say, "Three yams;" this was then construed as meaning "three years' service." Very many never returned to their homes. Under all sorts of false pretences they were induced to go on board ship, and were carried off, or heavy iron weights were thrown into their canoes, so as to swamp them, and then the people were fished up from the water, and immediately they set sail. If they resisted, recourse was at once had to fire-arms. In many cases the robbers gave themselves out as messengers sent by Bishop Patteson, so as to throw the islanders off their guard! The imported labourers were badly treated by many of the colonists. "I cannot speak to them," said a Fiji colonist to Bishop Patteson, "I can only point out to them what they have got to do, and when they are lazy I flog them." At length the English Government took the matter in hand, for alas! even from Sydney, no justice came for the suppression of this kidnapping, which resulted in so much bloodshed and embitterment. A ship of war, the *Rosario*, was sent into the South Sea

under the command of Captain Markham, in order to institute the necessary inquiries. That officer, in an official report, and also in a separate book, has published his own observations, as well as the inquiries which he conducted with reference to the so-called labour-traffic. The above representations are taken in substance from this thoroughly authentic and objective source; and also the following enormities, which touch on the extreme limits of credibility, are related in it. On the Northern Hebrides Islands it is the pride of the chiefs to have the largest possible collection of human skulls. White captains have engaged themselves to act as purveyors of skulls for these chiefs! They took skull-hunters on boards their ships, landed them on the remoter islands to slay as many men as they could, and then brought them back, with their spoils, to their home. For this they got from their receivers a goodly number of their subjects, to be taken as labourers to the colonies. A man called Murray had sunk a number of canoes in which the islanders were innocently paddling round his ship, by throwing iron weights into them, and had fished out about eighty of the people who were thus thrown into the sea, and had taken them into the ship. The prisoners, who were crowded into the hold, made a disturbance in the night, and tried to get out. As a few shots did not restore quietness, they went on for eight hours firing blindfold among the wretched creatures, of whom only five remained unwounded. On examining the scene of slaughter in the morning, fifty were found dead; and not these only, but also sixteen who were severely wounded, were thrown overboard, and then the ship was coolly washed in order to prevent detection!

Such are a few of the many horrors which have been perpetrated in connection with the so-called labour-traffic. Those whose nerves are strong enough to bear further disclosures of this sort, we refer to the *Evangelical Missions Magazine* (1872, p. 377, ff.) It scarcely needs proof that such conduct of the representatives of civilization must have had most momentous consequences for the mission. Apart from the hatred which the natives felt towards all that bore a white colour, and the acts of vengeance which they perpetrated without distinction on the first and best Europeans on whom they could lay hands, how ruinously must it have acted upon the Christian development of all the churches, where twenty, thirty, or forty members were suddenly carried off, without its being known what had become of them! What demoralisation it must have wrought when husbands and wives, parents and children, were forcibly separated! Again and again the sailors engaged in the kidnapping made the natives distrustful of the missionaries, as people who wished to take possession of their lands and reduce them to poverty. What calumnies were circulated in the newspapers against the messengers of the Gospel, because they to the best of their power stood up for the rights of the natives in opposition to their oppressors, and brought to light the crimes connected with the labour-traffic! Only two examples: A sailor, W. Irving, mate of the ship *Fason*, had sworn that the missionary Milne induced the natives of Nguna to shoot at him. This Irving, four months after this pretended attack, came back to the island, and himself informed the astonished missionary that all Australia was raging against him. How stands the fact? Irving had stolen some islanders,

and among them the wife of a chief. As he was bringing his captives in the boat, and was steering to the ship, two shots were sent after him, one by the embittered husband of her whom he was carrying away. Forthwith the Australian press demanded that for this deed of violence done to an English sailor the missionary must be called to account, and the Government sent a ship of war to inquire into the matter. But before the arrival of this ship, a new misfortune befell. Milne was on a missionary tour when the steamer *Fanny* brought some islanders back from Fiji to Nguna, and with the purpose of taking others on board. The chief, whose wife had been stolen, inquired after her in vain; also the wife of another married man was not among those brought back. Immediately the natives, determined to take vengeance, climbed on board, killed the five sailors whom they found there, but could not reach the captain and the mate, who had already been wounded, who fired at them from the cabin. But they cut through the anchor-chain, so that the ship went aground. In the night the captain and mate escaped to land, and made for the mission-house. The three teachers from Rarotonga, who were there, received the fugitives, and concealed them from the rage of the natives. After six days the mate became insane, withdrew from his hiding-place, and was killed by the heathen. On the seventh day a ship anchored, and to it the three teachers brought the captain in safety, at the risk of their own lives. And what was their reward for this? A few days after the departure of this vessel, three privateers entered the harbour together, the *Daphne*, the *Marion*, and the *Lismore*, to avenge the bloodshed in the *Fanny*. On Sunday morn-

ing the white men landed, but instead of going to the district whose chief had committed the deed, they went to the mission-station, attacked and dispersed the congregation assembled for worship, put the three teachers in irons, shot down an islander who looked as if he would defend them, and destroyed a newly-built baking-oven and hearth. The teachers in their fetters were then dragged on board and threatened with death unless they should immediately confess that the crew of the *Fanny* were murdered by the missionary's order. It was not till after Milne's return that the release of the innocent men was effected.

In later times this labour-traffic has been put on a far better footing, partly in consequence of the vigorous control of the British Government, partly through the energetic intervention of the missionaries, partly through the better judgment arrived at by the planters, which has been produced especially by the example set by the Hamburg house of Godefroy & Son. To attempt absolutely to prevent the engagement of islanders as labourers for the neighbouring plantations would be an excessive act of war, and therefore preposterous, not only with reference to the development of the plantations, but also to the advance of the natives in civilization. When this engagement is entered into on conditions which the natives can understand, when they are really engaged of their own free will, when the contracts made with them are conscientiously fulfilled, and the labourers are kindly treated, there can as little objection be taken to their temporary sojourn in the neighbouring islands, as to the engagement of labourers from Posen or Eichsfelde into the remoter districts of our fatherland. The Report of the German

Government, in many respects an instructive document, contains a full description of the labour question in the South Seas, from the pen of the experienced Consul Weber, the essential contents of which we give in a note,³ as a voice from the camp of the parties attacked, and who have thus space given them for their vindication. According to this temperate and circumstantial representation, which, especially with the support of foreign testimonies, vindicates the honour of the German commercial houses, many corrections must be made of the apprehension, so unfavourable to the planters, which has hitherto prevailed as to the existing relations; although we must not forget that the apologist speaks a little *pro domo*, and especially his introductory remarks on the earlier occurrences are undoubtedly too fair-coloured. There is also complaint enough in reference to the engaged immigrants from Europe, as to the shameful purchase of souls, and that even to the present day (*Globus*, xxxvi. p. 29, ff.).

In order to complete our representation of the relation of the representatives of civilization towards the South Sea Islanders, we take from the Report just mentioned two other quotations, which have nothing to do with the labour-question, but which relate mainly to the wrongs and deceptions connected with the acquisition of land, and are significant as to their character: "With respect to the causes"—(it is said, p. 14, f.)—"which afforded a special pretext for the annexation of the Fiji Islands, the following may be adduced. The king Thakombau had, almost all through his reign, to wage war with other chiefs, and in later years he was unsuccessful, because the opposite party, who were partly settled in the Island of Ovalan, which was also the place

of settlement of most of the whites, were assisted by them with war materials. Afterwards in the course of the war there occurred some injury of the property of Americans and Englishmen, who held king Thakombau responsible for it. Thus, two Americans, one of whom was American Consul, claimed as compensation for inconsiderable damages, with which Thakombau had nothing to do, first a sum of about £600, which gradually, without reason, was increased to £3000. After two American ships of war, to whose commanders the consul applied to enforce this and another demand upon Thakombau, had declined to do so, because they held the claims to be unrighteous, a third naval commander not only undertook it, but demanded £9000. This man extorted from the king, under threats of death, a bond, under which he engaged to pay it within a year. This was for him absolutely impossible, and in his necessity the king addressed to the English Government the first request for annexation, and the taking over of this obligation. The request was declined; and now a speculative company was suddenly formed in Melbourne, and offered to pay the money if king Thakombau would make over 200,000 acres of land to the company. The king consented, because he knew no other way of helping himself; but he could as little make over that land as he could pay the money, because no such extent of land belonged to him personally; and this as well as various English claims formed a main ground of his again offering the Fijis to the English, or at least acquiescing in the proposals for the annexation."

Again, p. 25, the Report says: "As I mentioned before, considerable tracts of land in the islands have

been acquired by Europeans and Americans, and according to all probability, the Government of Samoa, as soon as it is sufficiently established, will challenge the title-deeds of these acquisitions. The case with respect to these land acquisitions stands thus. All through the long years of continuous war, the pressing necessity of the natives was for arms and ammunition, and while they were prevented by the disturbed times from producing anything, they sold their land. In this way many Europeans bought land at comparatively low rates. But soon it came to this, that in many cases land was sold by persons who were not its proprietors. From that time all respectable settlers—that is, those who really intended to cultivate the land—acted very carefully; for example, the factory of Godefroy took this course: when a chief offered land for sale, he was certified as the real proprietor by chiefs who were personally known to the factory; then the close of the bargain was effected in presence of one of the European consuls, who summoned the chiefs as witnesses before him; but, in the first instance, only a small sum was paid as earnest-money. The house then had the land measured and marked off, and made use of every means of ascertaining whether the seller was really the proprietor. Only when, after some weeks, nobody had protested against the sale, which had gradually become known all over the district, the remainder of the price was paid.

“But some speculators, and especially the Polynesian Land Company, acted quite otherwise. They in some cases bought from one belligerent party the land belonging to the other; in some cases they would buy from

any natives indiscriminately of course at ridiculously low prices. The whole capital was nominally £20,000, a very small portion of which was spent in the purchase of 414 square miles. Whether the seller were really the owner, or whether the land for sale existed at all, was not inquired into; for the cultivation of the land was not the object, but the sale of paper titles to a joint-stock company which was to be formed in London." It is evident from these extracts what interest this sort of land-purchasers must have had in circumstances of anarchy, war, &c.; and the report contains the most striking documentary proofs that for the political disorder in the Samoan islands the blame really rests on the whites.

The revolt of the natives in New Caledonia, which broke out in June of last year, will be in the remembrance of the reader. It was much decried in the newspapers of the time, and was made use of by ignorant and ill-disposed parties to extract from it a complaint against the mission. Let us hear what the *Sydney Morning Herald* indicates as the causes of this revolt: "The seizure of the Kanaka land by the French Government; disregard of their customs; desecration of their burial-grounds and their tapu ordinances; stealing of women; imposition of immoderate government service; withdrawal of pensions due to the chiefs; the absolutism of the commandantship; the brutalities of subordinate officials, &c." And the *Catholic Mission* (1879, p. 149, ff.) contains the assurance, from the pen of Monsignor Vitte, the vicar-apostolic of New Caledonia, that these statements, notwithstanding many exaggerations, contain "much truth." "Twenty-five years ago," writes the French prelate, "France took possession of

New Caledonia; in such a course of years many lamentable events must have occurred. That individual officials and colonists, far from the eye of authoritative control, and lost in the wide forests, have allowed themselves to be hurried into deeds of barbaric violence, and have committed outrages against the women and the property of the natives, cannot be denied. Perhaps also the higher officials have shut their eyes to these things, and have distressed the people by immorality. All this has embittered certain Kanaka tribes, and given the immediate impulse to all the tribes of Foa and to the north of Burnil to take to arms." In a letter of 1st November, 1874, this same prelate brought prominently forward the scandal which was caused by the whites. "By the term *scandal* I do not mean the vices of the whites, but their direct opposition to the conversion of the Kanakas, and their direct seduction of the converts to apostasy and heathenism. Some set themselves in opposition to conversion, in order to be able to make use of the natives for the gratification of their base passions; others desire to treat the Kanakas as slaves, whom they can harass and subject to compulsory service at their pleasure. Others again set themselves in opposition out of pure hatred to religion. It is, alas! but too true that for seven or eight years the Catholic Church has had to struggle through a virtual persecution. The heathen chiefs had adopted the "parole," that is, "the religion of soldiers," by which it was attempted to counteract that of the missionaries. "I a Kanaka," they said; "I a soldier; I nothing of the missionaries' religion." They succeeded in inspiring them with opposition and contempt for the doctrines of the faith, and certain persons eagerly poked the fire of their hatred.

"Almost all the catechumens left us, and on my coming to the vicariate, I found apostates in thousands."

Peace is now fully restored ; but at what a price ! "The revolt," we are told by the vicar-apostolic, "was sudden, and was conducted with great energy. Our troops attacked the guilty tribes, burnt their villages, laid waste their plantations, felled their cocoa-trees, shot down their warriors, and took a great number of their women and children prisoners, whom they distributed as slaves among the tribes which remained faithful. . . . The black population of the island, which, before the outbreak of the revolt, numbered at the most 20,000, certainly lost 2000 of their children.

Enough of the South Seas. Let us now turn to the Indian Archipelago, where the Dutch have their colonial possession. This colonial possession is more important than is generally supposed. It contains 27,855 square miles, with nearly 21,000,000 of inhabitants, among whom there are only 36,500 Europeans, but 256,000 Chinese, and 11,000 Arabs. In this Dutch colony we are met with the astounding fact that, notwithstanding the supremacy of a Christian, or at least a European, civilized power, as rapid and comprehensive a spread of Islam is being accomplished as scarcely in any other land, even Central Africa not excepted. "Looking back"—so writes one who is thoroughly cognizant of the matter from his own observation, Dr. Schreiber—"Looking back upon the past, we find that by far the greatest part of the progress that has been made by Islam in the Indian Archipelago has been since the occupation of it by the Dutch. In Sumatra, indeed, before that time, Acheen and Menangkabau had become Mohammedan, and thence had Islam

found its way into Java. But in Sumatra, as well as in Java, the great majority of the people were still heathen when the Dutch began to conquer that island, and only since the time of the Dutch supremacy has Islam been introduced into Borneo, Celebes, and the Moluccas. Now the whole population of Java (about 18 millions) is, nominally at least, Mohammedan. In Sumatra there is no more any heathen population; and in Borneo and Celebes, at least half are Mohammedans. Altogether, in the Indian Archipelago, where a heathen population finds itself in contact with Mohammedans under a Dutch Government, Islam is making rapid progress. . . . The fact that the Dutch rule, wherever it comes, propagates Islam, is so incontrovertible that in Sumatra"—where Dr. Schreiber lived seven years as president of the Rhenish mission there—"the Mohammedans even believe that Allah has given the rule to the Dutch, in order that, by means of the Dutch rule, all heathen tribes may be converted to Islam. I have even met with heathens in Sumatra who were extremely astonished to hear that I and the other Dutchmen (*i.e.*, Europeans) were not Mohammedans; so much in their eyes are the Dutch Government and Islam one and the same."

The reader naturally asks in astonishment, What is the cause of this strange phenomenon? Does the Dutch Government, directly and on principle, interest itself in the extension of Mohammedanism, in opposition to the Christian mission? It were untrue to assert so, although in fact many of its officials occupy this position; and the official neutrality in matters of religion, which, as is well known, is characteristic of the Dutch policy at home as well as in the colonies, is

regarded as indifference, and even as opposition, to Christianity, and this necessarily leads to its being discredited. The special ground, however, is different. *The Dutch Government Mohammedanises because it Malayises.* The Malayan language is the language of Government in its intercourse with the natives. Every official, whether European or native, must speak it. In this way the chiefs, who play the chief part in the *personnel* of the Government, are obliged to acquire this language. They thereby soon become accustomed to regard the Malayan language, and then the Malays themselves, as something superior; they are ashamed of their mother tongue, and even call themselves Malays. But with the Malayan language, they acquire also Malayan habits; and, as the Malays are Mohammedans and fanatic propagandists of their faith, they acquire Islam also, which must all the more appear inseparable from Government service, and even from the Government itself, as the latter regards itself as wholly precluded from any open manifestation of its Christian confession.

This is not the place to enter into a criticism of the Dutch colonial policy. We have here only to call attention to the distressing fact that a Christian culture-power is not preparing the way for Christianity, but for Islam. That even culture gains no advantage from this erroneous policy needs as little proof for those who are acquainted with the Dutch colonial districts, as does the apprehension that the Government, through this growth of Mohammedanism, is itself digging the grave of its own rule.

Before we turn to China, we must cast a glance upon British India. Apart from the want of personal Christianity in many of the Western Christians there, over

which not only the missionaries, but even the heathens, lament, the Indo-British Government system is also, through its policy of religious neutrality, far removed from being a mission-power. We shall say nothing of the old East India Company, with its notorious favouring of heathenism, and, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament of 1833, its traditional systematic repression of missionary action, although the obstacles which it put in the way of the extension of Christianity are commonly not taken sufficiently into account when the Indian mission is reproached with comparative fruitlessness. The so-called pilgrim-tax, from which the Government formerly derived no inconsiderable revenue—*e.g.*, £58,727 in the year 1814-15—as well as the official maintenance of heathen temples, the official honouring of the idols, and other scandals of the same kind, have been legally prohibited since 1833; but since then as well as before, the highest officials have regarded it as their duty to dignify the idol festivals by their presence. Thus, last year Sir Richard Temple, Governor of the Bombay Presidency, “honoured” the festival of the elephant-headed, rat-mounted god Ganpati by his presence. The *Dynan Prakash*, a heathen paper, gave the following account of it: “As we stated in our last number, His Excellency yesterday evening paid a visit to Mr. Balwant Rao Vinayak Shastri Patwardhan, at his private residence in Tulsibhag, and by his presence contributed to the dignity of the Ganpati celebration. His Excellency was accompanied by his private secretary, Mr. Hart, and by Captain Plant. Among the other European gentlemen and ladies we saw the Hon. Mr. and Mrs. Gibbs, Mr. and Mrs. Robertson, Mr. and Mrs. Eliot, the French Consul, with

his wife and two other ladies. It was arranged that on this occasion the *Kirtan* was delivered by a famous orator. His Excellency was present for more than half-an-hour, and appeared to be extraordinarily gratified with all that he saw and heard."

The *Bombay Guardian*, No. 29, gives the following commentary on this statement: "Thus it appears that His Excellency had been invited a week before to the idol-festival, and had accepted the invitation. The *Kirtan* (oration) which was delivered was in praise of the idol Ganpati. Her Majesty's representative sat in a large, brilliantly-lighted hall, together with the image of Ganpati, which was enthroned at the other end, and received the adoration of the worshippers. And there His Excellency sat for half-an-hour, and was extraordinarily gratified with all that he saw and heard. And other English ladies and gentlemen were also present. There are many among the natives who deeply lament over the superstition and degrading idol-worship of their people, and long for the day when their land shall be free from the curse of idolatry. It may be supposed with what astonishment, and with what distress, these must see that the Governor and people of the highest reputation have sanctioned this idolatry by their presence. . . . We have here, further, prominent professors who have come from England as principals of the Government schools, who write, in the English journals, carefully elaborate bitter attacks upon Christianity. We have, further, His Excellency the Governor, with his principal officers, who also call themselves Christians, helping to support an idolatrous exhibition in honour of Ganpati. We have a highly-intelligent native gentleman, to whom

the Government and the professors are zealous to do honour, giving the weight of his body in rupees to the gods ; we have the English newspapers carefully avoiding writing a single word which might in any way express sympathy with the Gospel, while their columns are wide open for attacks upon Christianity and the laudation of other religions. What else can an inquirer suppose than that the Gospel of Christ is more noxious and more dangerous than any other doctrine ? The natives see the men who occupy the highest positions in the Government, and in the education department, in conjunction with the secular papers, employing their influence to confirm the people in their indifferentism with respect to the invitation to come to Christ, and then they scornfully ask the missionaries, How comes it that you have not more success ? ”

The Act of Parliament of 1813, which was passed under great resistance, expressly stated that “it is the duty of England to promote the interests and the welfare of the population of the British possessions in India, and that for this end such means shall be employed as are calculated for the introduction of useful knowledge among the natives of India, and for their moral and religious elevation.” The term *neutrality* was never introduced into the debates of that time. Both Houses of Parliament acknowledged that it is the duty of England—that is, of the English Government—to further Christianity in India. In the later Charter of 1833, which put a stop to the unnatural administration of idolatrous endowments by the Government, the declaration is made for the first time that the Government must be neutral ; which, in this connection, could only mean that it should neither support

nor forcibly suppress idolatry. Thus, when, on the authority of an official proclamation of 7th April, 1859, it is asserted that the British Government in India has from the first been founded on the principle of absolute religious neutrality, on the principle of refraining from all interference with the religious views and usages of the natives and the exclusion of religious instruction from the Government schools; no doubt the practice is rightly indicated which is traditionally followed to this day; but this practice is in no wise legalised. "In the contradiction between these two documents" (of 1813 and 1859)—says Sir Herbert Edwardes, the well-known conqueror of Multan, and one of the saviours of India during the military revolt of 1857, in his famous speech of 1st May, 1860—"lies a most striking proof that we have made great retrogression in the course of half a century." This only by the way, in order to the rectification of a wide-spread error.

It is not our business here to develop in any way the principles on which the Indo-British Government should regulate its religious policy, so that it shall prepare the way for the spread of Christianity, while it respects the convictions of the natives. We confine ourselves only to the statement of facts. But it is a fact that the Indo-British Government, although it does not now any more put direct restrictions upon private missionary action, stands neutral with respect to Christianity, especially in its school-policy, in such a fashion that thereby the moral and religious elevation of the natives can hardly be promoted. We say not that the Government intended this. But it is in the nature of things that the neutrality policy in matters of religion is upon the whole injurious to religion. Even when it does not wish it so, this policy must

experience the truth of the declaration: "He who is not with me is against me, and he who gathereth not with me scattereth abroad" (Matt. xii. 30). Quite unintentionally neutrality seems as a cloak for direct and indirect hindrance, yea, for opposition to Christianity. In actual life circumstances are arranged otherwise than in theory. We may try to prevent it ever so much, but neutrality is so construed as to permit all attacks upon Christianity, and to represent all positive furtherance of it as irreconcilable with the neutrality principle. Thus it has happened that, as is shown by the article quoted from the *Bombay Guardian*, and might be proved by many other testimonies, the Indo-British Government has plenty of assailants of Christianity among its servants, especially in its higher schools, while a direct furtherance of its extension is regarded as inconsistent with official position. While there is excessive toleration towards unbelief and superstition, there is intolerance towards the Gospel of Christ. We are far from desiring that a Christian colonial government should conduct missions after the fashion of Charlemagne; but we think that it becomes it to act as a Christian government, which is not only not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, but which also gives to the natives an opportunity of learning to know Christianity, without using any pressure on them to accept it. It is no blind religious fanaticism that leads us to speak thus. In his speech formerly mentioned, which attracted so much attention at the time of its delivery, one cognisant of the circumstances of India, and an authority like Sir Herbert Edwardes, said freely in public: "During the few months since I came home from India, I have often had occasion to talk with men in high, powerful, and

influential positions, and not seldom have I been asked with honest earnestness and great solicitude what ought, in my judgment, to be done for India. To this I have always answered, without reserve or hesitation, that, according to my view, we should stand out in India as a Christian government. When I have been asked why, my answer has been : In the first place, because I hold it to be our duty ; in the second place, because a Christian policy in India is the safe and beneficial course for England and for the natives." For the proof led, by means of plain facts and actual experiences, of the rectitude of the latter assertion, we must refer to the powerful speech itself. It is neither a Christianly moral nor a statesmanly wise policy when, under a Christian government, the attitude towards religion is like that in the old Roman empire, where, according to Gibbon's well-known dictum, "the various religions were regarded by the people as equally true, by the philosophers as equally false, by the Government as equally profitable ;"⁴ which, however, did not prevent the persecution of Christianity. It cannot be otherwise than that this neutrality must work with misleading, dereligionising, and, therefore, demoralising effect on the natural conscience.

And this is, in fact, the case in India in very great measure in consequence of the religion-policy. "Religion is for the Hindu," says Sir Herbert Edwardes, in the speech which we have so often quoted, "a reality. It is the thread on which his whole life is spun. All his daily doing and driving, all the arrangements of his life, are like so many beads which are strung upon this thread. His feasts, his meals, his fasts, his ceremonies, his domestic life—all is bound up with his religion. The native is nothing without his religion ; it is the bone-structure of his whole being.

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Therefore he cannot understand a government which does not concern itself with religion. He cannot conceive of such a body without a soul." But this is not the worst. By its religious indifferentism the Government is robbing especially the higher classes of the population of their present religious beliefs, without offering them any substitute. What must the result be? A community without any religious and moral support, a community from under whose feet the ground is taken, and which must ultimately become a most dangerous element even for the Government. We have already had occasion to adduce heathen judgments as to the dangers of non-religious education. We add here, from a great abundance of testimonies, only one, which is altogether beyond suspicion, which we take not from a mission-report, but from the *Ausland*! "Dr. C. Macnamara," it is there said, "now physician in Westminster Hospital in London, lived twenty years in India, and in that time had abundant means of learning the feelings and views of the natives regarding the condition of things at that time. According to him, it is the firm and ever growing conviction of very many among them, that while England has saved many millions of human creatures from the misery of anarchy and of a state of chronic war, the native community is nevertheless advancing to early decomposition." "A great number of the old families are extinct. The mothers and wives of the rising generation see their sons and husbands falling a prey to vices, which formerly were never heard of, completely indifferent to their family or other ties; they form the sharpest contrast to the past, when there were not so many laws, education, or taxes, but when it was the most terrible stain upon a man to be regarded as an undutiful son. The

adolescent Hindu generation is falling away from the native religion, and living, disastrously for itself, without any religious belief. Secular education is leading to gross materialism and to haughty socialism. Thence the necessity lately of regulating the native press, which probably was designed to stop for a time one of the many valves through which the Europeans had the means of ascertaining the state of feeling among the natives—feelings which, as I fear, will only too surely break out into a rising, in comparison with which the rebellion of 1857 was a mere quarrel.”

As was formerly remarked, we can neither fall under the suspicion of overlooking the many benefits which the British Government has really conferred upon India, and, therefore, indirectly upon the mission, nor be liable to the reproach of failing to perceive that the religious vacuum, which must be the result of the official neutral policy, is preparing the way for the Gospel of Christ, which is diffused by unchecked private mission-agency. We take back nothing of what we have already remarked with reference to one or other of these points. But it is one thing to assert that the British Government is doing much good for the material civilization of India, and that it must, notwithstanding, yea, even by means of, its religious indifference, help to pull down the ramparts of heathenism; and quite another thing to say that the Indian Government is a direct mission-force. After the facts that have been given, even the friend of that Government must designate the latter assertion as untrue. The indirect furtherances of the mission which the Government policy effects, should not be despised by the friends of missions. Still, the Government remains fully answerable for the many injuries which its policy demonstrably does to the extension of the king-

dom of God ; and it is manifest that the advances of the mission in India would be much more considerable than they actually are, if the Government, with the most liberal respect for conscience, acted on a Christian policy, instead of one of religious indifference.

This policy, alas ! is wanting also in the trade with China. Here is really the stone of stumbling, yea, the rock of offence—the opium-traffic—which is carried on not only under the protection, but indirectly to the profit, of the Government. “The same nation which, in the former half of our century, by a heroic act wrenched itself free from the curse of the slave-trade, and subsequently from that of slavery in its colonies, and thereby did all that it could to put a stop to a main cause of the wholesale murder, and which is striving at great cost to-day to stop it in Eastern and Western Africa—the same nation it is that, in the latter half of the century, in defiance of the complaints, the suppliant entreaties of the Chinese Government, and the outcry of the Christian conscience within itself, is, by means of its opium, sacrificing hundreds of thousands of Chinese, in yearly increasing progression, to its desire of gain, or rather its fear of a deficit in its Indian budget ; which, with its poison, is strangling not only the bodies, but almost always at the same time the souls, the whole mental and moral strength of its victims !—a monster-form, with one hand generously dispensing life and freedom to the negro-world, with the other forcibly inoculating the quivering giant body of China with death and bondage ; blessed by thousands in Africa, cursed by millions in Asia—so stands England with her colonial policy before us. The flag of Albion bears a broad stain.” So says Professor Christlieb in his classical writing, *The Indo-British Opium-Trade and*

its Effects. With respect to the historical development of this disgraceful trade, and its ruinous effects on India and China, we must refer to the authentic statements in that pamphlet. But with respect to its obstructive influence on the progress of the mission in China, we cannot but adduce at least a few testimonies. First of all, it is manifest that the British opium-policy, so vehemently opposed and so reluctantly tolerated by China, and which relies on the protection of British guns, not only enhances into hatred the already so strong Chinese antipathy to foreigners, but affords a certain justification of that hatred. We say nothing of the crippling influence which is thereby exerted upon the commercial relations between China and the outside lands; nor of the opposition, enhanced to obstinacy, to the laying down of railroads and telegraphs in the Middle Kingdom; to the raising of the coal-treasures, &c., which has not till this day been overcome. How much does the shameful avarice, in which the opium trade has its foundation, close millions of Chinese hearts against Christian preaching! for the Chinese now make no distinction between the foreigners who bring them the opium, and those who bring them the Gospel. Here also the messengers of the Gospel must suffer for the sins of their countrymen. A missionary of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America in 1869 visited the head-station of the province of Honun in Kai-fong-tu. There a crowd of people, whom the learned men had immediately collected in opposition to him, drove him from the city, and shouted after him: "You killed our emperor, you destroyed our summer-palace, you bring poison into the country to ruin us, and now you come to teach us virtue." On the walls of a foreign establishment in Shanghai there was found some years ago a placard to the following effect:

"How ridiculous is it that the barbarians come to Shanghai, and think that with their preaching they shall be able to gain the hearts of the people. It is too late for us to be able to recognise a good work in it. Twenty years ago they might have preached with a prospect of success. But now the opium, the source of evil, has poisoned the heart and mind of the people; for since they have taken evil counsel, their soldiers have, without any reason, brought suffering and devastation on our district, and have slain 10,000 people. In heart covetous, in judgment short-sighted, they entered upon this error. Now they distribute tracts, but their doctrine is not good. The people hate them in their inmost hearts. . . . Sin-laden yourselves, you propose to amend others. When you would speak of sin, speak of your own misdeeds, which are so excessive that if each one of you were cut into two halves, the punishment would be but too slight. Hypocritically proclaiming a strange doctrine, you come here like devils to turn everything upside down. To corrupt the people thoroughly, and thereby to glorify your own virtue, you regard as a good work."

To be obliged to hear such reproaches belongs to the daily experiences of a Chinese missionary. The evil odour into which the whole English nation has brought itself, forms till this day a frightful counterweight against all the efforts of individuals to benefit the Chinese people. "English missionaries," says the experienced Edkins, "have no fair field for their efforts in China, so long as the honour of their nation is stained through the cultivation and manufacture of opium, under the immediate control of the Indian Government. Moreover, the opium smokers, whose number in China now amounts to millions, are inaccessible to the word of the Gospel, in a far greater degree than even brandy-

drinkers. Not only does the use of this poison deaden all nobler feelings, it also weakens in the highest degree the strength of the will, and holds those who are addicted to it in an irretrievable bondage. A man who is held captive by this demoniac power can evidently be no member of a Christian church." "Let it only be considered," writes the eloquent Dr. Ostertag, "that this vice is so widespread among the people of China, and just among the coast-people, who hitherto are chiefly accessible to the missionaries, and it will be comprehended why the mission there is moving comparatively so slowly. Even when here and there an opium-smoker yields obedience to the Gospel, while he groans under the burden of his bondage, how seldom does it happen that he is set free from it and becomes a steadfast disciple of Christ."

Let us now quit Asia, and take advantage of a California steamer to proceed to San Francisco. It is well known that no inconsiderable Chinese emigration to Western America has taken place. According to trustworthy estimates, there must now be about 150,000 Chinese in the United States, of whom the majority belong to the Pacific States, some 60,000 to California alone and about 30,000 to the city of San Francisco. While, therefore, China was compelled, and is still compelled, by the culture-states of the West, through the argumentation of cannon, to open her closed doors to the foreigners, which she would not do on any other terms, and to protect their lives and property against all popular injury—how are the Chinese treated in America, at least in California?

In the year 1868 came Burlingame as ambassador extraordinary of China to America. Even in Francisco, where at first the Chinese immigration had been welcomed,

notwithstanding that the waves of antagonism were then already rising high, he was received with honour. His negotiations with the Government of the United States led to the so-called Burlingame-treaty, by which the same protection of law was assured to the Americans in China, as to the Chinese in America. Art. 5 of this treaty ran thus: "The United States of North America and the Emperor of China recognise sincerely the natural and inalienable right of every man to change his dwelling and his nationality, and also the advantage of free emigration and immigration for scientific objects, or in the interests of industry or settlement." But instead of treatment worthy of a Christian civilized state, and protection from constant insults by mobs, being secured to the Chinese immigrants by this treaty, the anti-Chinese movement began after this time to come to its height. Not only were obstructions put in the way of the immigration of the troublesome strangers by legal quibbles, often of the smallest sort, but also, without any hindrance on the part of the magistrates, and even with direct or indirect encouragement from them, the hatred against them, bred of envy, was shown by false accusations, ignominious treatment, intrigues of the most ignoble kind, in order to free the land again from the "yellow curses." It may be proper to adduce only a few data, while for further details we refer to the article, *The Chinese in California*, in the *Allgemeinen Missions-Zeitschrift* (1879, p. 251, ff.), which, chiefly founded on Gibson's instructive book, *The Chinese in America*, contains authentic information in sufficient abundance. "We have again and again adduced proof"—it is said in an article of the *San Francisco Chronicle* of 24th March, 1876—"that American labour cannot compete with Chinese, because the China-

man is contented to live like a pig, while the American wishes to live like a human being. The Chinese workman is satisfied with a bowl of rice and two cups of tea a-day, while the American occasionally uses beef and mutton, and takes it ill when he has to dispense with bread and butter. The Chinaman even sleeps in a hole—the American uses a bed. Thus the question arises: Are we to desire cheap labour, when it can be got only by lowering our workmen to the level of the beastly heathen?" And on 17th March the same paper writes, in reference to an announcement of the arrival of 1017 additional Chinese immigrants: "What does the arrival of these 1017 Mongolians mean? It means the dispossession of 1017 white men and women from the situations which they now enjoy. For it has been proved that white labour and Chinese cannot co-exist," &c. But the opposition was not confined to newspaper articles, or anything of so moderate a kind. Public meetings were held, in which it was declared: "We must seize these cunning brutes by the throat. We must throttle them till their hearts cease to beat, and then throw them into the sea." And such speeches and resolutions were practically carried out by the populace. The Chinese, while peacefully going their way along the streets, were treated with blows and kicks, they were thrown upon dung-hills, their houses were burnt, &c. In short, they were ill-used, insulted, wronged in every way, and all with the express approval of public sentiment. Only the friends of missions took the part of the oppressed. But how were they assailed and insulted on this account? The rage extended itself even as far as the German press. Thus, *e.g.*, it is said in an article of the *Hamburg Correspondent*, of the 3rd Feb., 1878 (supplement): "That so little heed is given

in influential quarters to the prayers and threatenings of California (for banishing the Chinese from the country), is especially due to the Puritanical press of New England, which, in its sweetly-silly hypocrisy, is constantly raving about the brotherhood of all men. As this press and its influential partizans in the United States have, by cockering and drenching with their unsound and inhuman ideas of humanity, converted the negroes from industrious plantation-labourers into corrupt good-for-nothings, so the same party is not ashamed to stake the culture of the Caucasian race, in the expectation that they can bring over to Christianity the Chinese, which, as is well known, is hardly effected by missionaries in their own country—reason sufficient to further the immigration by all means. As there is not sufficient confidence in the converting zeal of the Californians, there has been sent from the West,* from Boston, the breeding-ground of the hypocrisy, a warlike champion—Otis Gibson is his name—to San Francisco, who has been installed with a large salary, and is now labouring for conversion and fusion of races.” In this tone the article—which is inspired by passionate hatred, and which, by its extravagant exaggerations and its undignified invectives, sufficiently corrects itself—goes on at great length. We spare the reader. What has been quoted is quite sufficient to show how men of that sort would treat the Chinese.

As already remarked, the communal and states magistrates have taken part in this Chinese-hunt. Thus, *e.g.*, a law has been framed that every Chinaman who is put in prison shall have his queue, or, as it is derisively called, his pig-tail, cut off, which, as is well known, is the greatest

* Qu. East?—*Trans.*

ignominy for a citizen of the Middle Kingdom ; unjustly high taxes are imposed upon Chinese immigrants and labourers ; no one is permitted to land, as to whose voluntary coming and moral character sufficient evidence cannot be produced, &c. Indeed, the Californian Legislature sought last year to lay the axe at the root of the whole Chinese immigration, by a resolution that no ship should henceforth land more than 15 Chinese—an international outrage and breach of treaty, which was prevented by the veto of the President.

We do not ask now what the English, what the Americans, would say if their countrymen in China were treated in the same way. Facts in abundance give the answer to this. We ask rather : What do the Chinese say to this treatment in a Christian civilized country ? On this point we do not need to resort to conjectures. For example, *The Independent* of the 3rd April of the present year contains the judgment of a Chinaman living in America, to the following effect : “It is you who break the treaties, who are intolerant towards foreigners, who break off the international intercourse, when your interest demands it ; you need not be surprised though China makes reprisals, though she will have neither you, nor your civilization, nor your religion.” Some time ago an American met a finely-dressed Chinaman in a very filthy street in San Francisco. Coming in opposite directions they met upon a narrow gangway, which formed a sort of bridge in the filthiest part of the street. Instead of giving way to the stranger, as civility demanded, the citizen of the Free States showed his superiority by pushing him into the deepest mud. The Chinaman quietly rose all over muddy—“You—Christian ; I—heathen.” Who will blame the ill-used man, if he

thought within himself, "Heaven, I thank thee that I am not as these Christians" ? It is evident that by such treatment not only must the Chinese be hardened against Christianity, but that they must carry back with them into their fatherland a prejudice against our civilization and our religion, and must propagate it among their countrymen.

In Australia also a similar Chinese-hunt is a-foot. The *Austral Steam Navigation Company*, which conducts the postal service between the Eastern colonies and San Francisco, in November last had taken Chinese sailors into its service. This gave rise to great bitterness on the part of the other sailors, who struck. Public meetings were held—those in Sydney attended by 10,000 men—in which sympathy was expressed with the men on strike. The most vulgar rudeness towards the Chinese was indulged in; their houses were burnt, they were beaten, yea, one was thrown into boiling water ! In Queensland, the parliament passed a bill which prescribes that on every Chinaman on his arrival a capitation-tax of £10 shall be imposed. The Governor at first hesitated to give his sanction to this treaty-breaking resolution, and the English Government supported him. But as the parliament unanimously passed the same bill a second time, it received the ratification of the English Government. In Queensland, besides this capitation-tax, every Chinaman must pay £3 for permission to dig for gold (Europeans pay 10s.), and for opening a shop £10 (Europeans pay £5). In New South Wales the Government, under the pressure of the public voice, has introduced a similar bill, which will certainly pass. Who will wonder if the Chinese take reprisals for this wrongful treatment of their countrymen in foreign lands, upon the foreigners in their land, especially upon the missionaries,

who often get little protection from the consuls? When very recently a Chinese mob pulled down the building of the C. M. S. at Fuchow, and a complaint was made to the vice-king, this answer might have been given: "My countrymen at San Francisco have had their houses pulled down and have been treated in the most shameful way. I fully sympathise with you in your indignation now. You have good reason for your displeasure."

But the treatment of the Chinese is insignificant in comparison with that of the North American Indians. Let us look only for a few moments at this story of wrong, continued by civilization till the present day, for which it is well known that President Lincoln saw a righteous retribution in the terrible bloodshed of the great American Civil War. Very soon after the European immigration the enmity began between the white and the red man. The Massachusetts Indians, soon irritated by the arbitrary acts, the deceptions, and at last the robberies perpetrated by the settlers, prepared themselves for revenge. But before they set out on their expedition they were attacked, and a great massacre of them ensued. Still more settlers came and took possession of the land. Ground and territory were indeed obtained by purchase—often enough, however, only by sham-purchase—but gradually they thought less and less of appropriating the land which they desired, driving back the natives, breaking down their opposition by bloody violence, inciting one tribe against another, &c. Let the anthropologist Waitz, whose inquiries are as thorough as his statements are *sine ira et studio*, be our voucher. He thus writes: "The longer the more did the settlers conduct themselves as the only rightful lords of the soil, proclaimed the Indians who were hostile to them as rebels,

demanding of them their weapons, as soon as their demeanour excited distrust they summoned them before the courts, or made war upon them—all as their own advantage required. They concluded treaties by intimidation, interpreted them arbitrarily, and observed them only so far as it appeared profitable to them, negotiated with those whose help they needed or whose enmity they feared.”

Upon documents whose meaning and application the Indians either did not understand or misunderstood, they founded the claim to subject the Indians to the jurisdiction of the colonists. Breaches of promise, false charges, conspiracies, assaults, bloodshed, and deeds of violence of all sorts were more and more frequent, the more the number of the settlers increased, and the provocation of the Indians under their oppression was intensified. On the Hudson, in Pennsylvania, N. Carolina, and Virginia, S. Carolina and Florida—everywhere was the same unrighteous and cruel treatment of the natives, who naturally sought in every way to avenge themselves on their oppressors. But let us leave these old customs of the 17th and 18th centuries, with their inhumanities bordering on incredibility, and make a few statements respecting the Government policy of the United States in more recent times. Formerly the red man was deprived of the land which he had hitherto possessed, essentially by the fault of the settlers as single individuals, in war and peace, by purchase, fraud, or simple seizure; but now this tragic fate was legalized. “After the end of the American War of Independence began the stipulations of the Government with the Indians regarding the cession of territory on a large scale, and regarding the yearly rent to be paid for it. The Government had reserved for itself the right of purchase, and in this way, down to the year 1820,

upwards of 200 millions of acres of land had been acquired. For 191 millions they had paid $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of dollars; and from scarcely an eleventh part of this quantity of land, 22 millions of dollars had been got by selling it again to individuals, while the buyers remained indebted for an equal sum. The whole yearly rents which the Indians obtained amounted to 154,575 dollars, of which only 80,325 dollars were permanent rents. That was without doubt a good bargain, which casts a bright light on the policy of plundering. . . . To pay the yearly rents in money was the most convenient and most profitable way for the Government, but the most hurtful for the Indians, of conducting the land-purchase. Both parties knew right well, and every year's experience showed, that the yearly rent was nothing else than misapplied alms, which must destroy every inducement to work, and must foster indolence. This gave no concern to the white American; for he was right glad that the Indians were going to ruin, and he was able to remove from himself the appearance of the blame thereof."

In California, also, it fared badly with the Indians. "The discovery of gold," says Mallery, "brought upon them with a sudden rush a flock of lawless and greedy diggers, settlers, and adventurers of the worst kind, while there was no protection afforded by law or regulating morality. A horde of robbers broke like a tornado upon these gentle natives." . . . "Did a tribe"—so writes Powers, who is well acquainted with these circumstances⁶—"complain that the gold-diggers had polluted their salmon-streams, or did they steal a couple of cattle, within twenty days, not a soul of them would be alive. I have more than once, on winter evenings by the fireside, heard the old Oregon heroes laughingly tell how, while on a stag-hunt, they had shot down an Indian

"buck," or a woman, whom they happened to see, purely for amusement, although the tribe to which these belonged were living in perfect peace with the Americans."

The longer the more it appeared advisable to remove the Indians as far as possible from the settlements of the whites, and so the period of "settlements" begun. But scarce had they entered the new district when civilization pressed them further back, and, however the possession was guaranteed by solemn treaties, they must give way to the whites and withdraw further to the West, without reference to the question whether their welfare would be destroyed, and the beginning of civilization, which had in some cases been made among them, would be stopped. It is interesting to read the speeches which the Indian chiefs, provoked and irritated by such notorious breaches of treaty delivered on various occasions, and it is incomprehensible how the Government officials had the courage to plead the Government regulations in opposition to their cries for justice. Suffice it to quote one passage. At the great meeting called at Green Bay in 1830, John Metoxen, the honoured chief of Stockbridge, said, among other things, in presence of the Government officials: "Because we supposed our great father to be a truthful and honourable man, who would not break his word, but had a strong arm to make that word good, we believed all that he said to us. We allowed his white children to come into our fair land and our dwellings in the State of New York, and we ourselves took our wives and children in our arms and came hither over the great lakes to live by the Fox-river. We lighted the council-fire and made peace with our brothers the Winibagos and Menomenies, we gave them money for their land. They said they would be glad to see us, and that

we should come to live among them, and we should be all one people. They promised to give up hunting and fishing, and to cultivate corn like us, and that their women should act like our women, and that we should become good and great together like the white people. All our hearts were full of joy. Brothers! we little thought that our great father, President Munroe, should so soon die, and that another should come into his office who would forget what he had promised. We little thought that our present great father has so many papers lying on his desk, and that he would be unable to find the paper on which his treaty with us is written. You see, brothers, the white man is here; he has brought strong water to sell to our people, whereby they become mad, and quarrel with one another. The Indian can be seduced to anything when he has strong water. It makes him frantic; he will not work; he will beat his wife and his child; he will even murder them, although at other times he would pine away with grief for them. And yet the great father promised us that the white man should not come here to sell strong water. But you see, brothers, that a great multitude of white people have come into our land, to live here. They tell us that they will remain, that more of them will come, that they will have our land, and we must wander away to the Mississippi. All this makes us very sad. We lived in peace with the Winibagos, &c.; our council-fire burned well, and never went out. Then came the white man and threw a great stone into the fire, and scattering the burning brands around, and shouted, 'There is no peace.' Our brothers, says he, are going to take back the land which they had sold us. They could now sell it again to the whites, and get payment for it a second time."

People boasted that they had given the Indians agricultural implements, sent artisans and teachers to them, and established schools and model farms. But, apart from the poverty of all institutions of that sort, the model farms were situated in districts to which no Indian ever came; the tools did not reach their hands. Millions of dollars destined for their civilizing disappeared, without any one knowing what became of them. The Indians who were driven from their possessions were brought to the so-called Reservations. How matters went on there, only a few examples from the West will show, as Gerland has communicated them in his instructive article on *The Future of the Indians*. The Yuki received an old burial-field for a dwelling. On the other hand, they never received a dollar of the fifteen-years' compensation that was granted them for the land which they ceded. It all found its way into the pockets of the agents. The Modok were brought into a reservation which lay in the territory of their enemies, the Mukaluk, and here they were continually subjected to the most dreadful ill-treatment; their women were outraged, their wells and streams were polluted and poisoned, &c. And when at last, when no attention was paid to their complaints, they decamped and migrated to their old home, they of course fell to war with the settlers there. They had become saucy and insolent, "they had learned to condemn the wretched farce of the reservation-husbandry." When Indians got a good reservation, the colonists often drove them back, and the agents could not, or would not, restrain these encroachers. In the year 1877 the Indian agent, Captain Parker, reports on the Hupa-reservation: "The reservation is now in circumstances of the greatest depression. The corn-mill has been abandoned; it is useless. Still worse is the saw-mill.

The hedges are in the most deplorable condition, houses are fallen down, the cattle shed is carried off. There are some eight or nine hundred acres of good wheat land, but not a single acre in cultivation, as also an ample breadth of pasture-land. The Indians are peaceful and quiet; many among them are active and industrious. They complain bitterly that their cattle sheds and agricultural implements have been taken and sold to the whites."

That the inhumanities towards the poor, provoked Indians, have not ceased even now, is proved in the saddest way by an execution that took place early in the present year. Some 150 Chayenne Indians were imprisoned in Fort Robinson in Nebraska, because they had not stayed in the new settlement assigned to them, but had gone on a robbing expedition to procure food for themselves. They decidedly refused to go back to the abandoned settlements, on the ground that the climate and hunger would destroy them. The captain charged with taking them back at first sought to make them submissive by depriving them of food and firewood. But when hunger and cold did not subdue them, and the Indians were singing their death-song, as being ready to die, then five companies of cavalry were ordered to drag back the recusants by force. The Indians then, notwithstanding their weariness, stood on the defensive, resolved on a life or death struggle; then they fled. Many, especially women and children, were again captured, more were killed, a new pursuit was instituted after those who had escaped. The handful of red men fought most desperately against at least twenty times their number of soldiers; very few fled, and these few probably in their flight succumbed to their wounds. "A number of disobedient, cunning, treacherous Indians, who make no more

account of the lives of our officers and soldiers than if they were dogs, endeavoured to escape from the custody of our troops, and used violence. They were treated as they deserved; and it is foolish to try to excuse their criminal behaviour." Such is the judgment of General Sherman on this occurrence, while at least a portion of the American press acknowledged in this policy "a reproach on our age and our people."

Manifestly such hostile treatment of the Indians by the representatives of civilization, persisted in for centuries, must have laid great obstacles in the way of the Christian missionary there. "In consequence," says Waitz, "of the bitterness between the two races the distrust of the Indians with respect to Christianity grew ever greater and greater. The Senecas once made it an express condition of peace with the Shawans that they should never become Christians. They suspected, in the spread of Christianity, a new means of oppression; they feared a new deception." "Too many lies in the white man's prayer-house," said a Delaware: "they say, 'Thou shalt not steal,' but they steal the Indians' land; they say 'Love thy neighbour,' but they will not pray with negroes." How often have the missionaries had to hear it said to them, "Go and better your own countrymen;" and the well-known Canadian was not altogether wrong into whose mouth Seume puts the words, "See, we savages are still better men."

"Not the unsusceptibility of the Indians"—says Fritschel at the close of his admirable work, which is founded on the most thorough study of authorities, the *History of Christian Missions among the Indians of North America in the 17th and 18th Centuries*—"but the conflict of the races, the constant inflow of the wave of immigration of the

white population into the Indian land, hindered and frustrated the various missionary efforts, even such as had already attained quite magnificent and much-promising results."

In the latest *Survey of the Mission Work of the Church of the Brethren from 1869 to 1879*, it is said in reference to the mission to the Indians:—"The Cherokees are the most civilized tribe of all the natives who live west of the Mississippi, and the most numerous. They are surrounded by white settlers, who are watching for the moment when, the independence of the tribe having ceased, the land shall be divided among individual Indians, or by lies and frauds shall pass over into their hands. The Cherokees, on the other hand, cherish a well-founded mistrust, yea hatred, against all whites, because they have been already despoiled of their former rights and liberties. This sentiment cannot act otherwise than obstructively and destructively upon our mission work. The wildest licentiousness prevails among the people. The dissatisfaction and uncertainty respecting their political position calls forth great indifference in their religious life," &c.

The conflict between the whites and the Indians in America is often represented as a war of civilization against barbarism, and for the sake of the victory of civilization, the annihilation of the red-skins is considered to be quite in order.⁷ It is not necessary that we divest this sophistical expression of its glory. Waitz has already had the courage to do so, and openly to declare it. "It is a coarse distortion of history when the war of the Indians against the whites is represented as really a war of barbarism against civilization; rather in it right is struggling against violence, helpless short-sightedness and feebleness against

refined craftiness and avarice." In such matters the anthropologists get readier belief than the theologians.

Besides the wrongs done to the Indians, there rests upon the American civilization the burden of another crying wrong, that, namely, which has been done to the African negro slaves. It is neither our design in this place to relate the history of the slave trade and of slavery, nor to undertake a representation of the abominations to which they have given rise. We frankly admit that the pictures sketched in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, that sensational romance which attracted so much attention in its day, contained exaggerations; and that he who should make use of particular crimes, which have really been committed, as a generalising representation of the treatment of the slaves, would falsify the actual circumstances. But after these admissions, there remains so great a residue of the most heinous guilt, that those cannot be charged with wrong who regard the North American terrible civil war as a punishment, or an atonement for the crimes committed against the sons of Africa, as well as against the aborigines of the country.

The moderate treatment of the slaves, demanded perhaps by selfishness,—for they cost a great deal of money,—cannot in any way justify the accursed institution itself. There are two quite different things—to introduce slavery into Christian lands, and not to abolish it in heathen and Mohammedan countries. The former is to act in the most flagrant way in opposition to the fundamental principles of the religion which is professed. In the latter case slavery is most closely connected with the religious conceptions and the social relations, and can only be suppressed when these are changed. In the former case the introduction of slavery is a retrogression into the barbarous which has

been long overcome; in the latter, its continuance is a necessary consequence of the low moral position which has not yet been discovered to be low. The former is action in opposition to better knowledge and conscience; in the latter it is *bona fide*. Hence, also, however paradoxical it may sound, the treatment of slaves among non-Christian people, as Waitz most strikingly proves, is much more humane than among the civilized Christian peoples!

But apart altogether from the treatment, there is this terrible thing in slavery as practised by civilized Christians, that one man regards another man as a mercantile commodity, to be bought and sold at his pleasure, and to be put to labour as a sort of soulless animal. "It was a long, long time ago,"—writes a correspondent of the *Berlin People's Journal* in connection with the visit of the black jubilee-singers to our country—"that I stood in a lonely wood in Arkansas on outpost duty. It was in winter. All at once it was as if the wind bore words and a distinct melody. The sound came nearer, and I heard distinctly a human voice, which strangely harmonised with the whistling of the wind and corresponded with the voice of nature. The sound reached me—

‘Rock me to sleep, mother;’

and then followed a long-drawn, woeful refrain,

‘All day, all day!’

The songstress who gave so soft, musical expression to the entreaty that her mother would rock her to sleep all the day, was a ragged negro child of about ten years of age. I spoke to the songstress, and asked her—‘Where is your mother?’ ‘Sold,’ was the answer. ‘Your father?’ ‘Sold.’ ‘Your sisters?’ ‘Sold.’ ‘Whom then do you

belong to, Maggie ?' The little girl was in perplexity, and after thinking a long time, then said shyly and timidly, 'The driver.' These statements comprised the whole life-history of the little slave-girl, and in this was reflected the misery and all the heartrending wretchedness of her race."

How many thousands of life-histories of immortal human beings are told in this one unadorned history, and how many tears and broken hearts are comprised in the one word SOLD. But also much demoralisation is comprised in the same word, as slavery tears asunder all conjugal and family bonds, it lowers the black race so that it loses both natural morality and at last all sense of modesty, and in the sexual relations is ruled only by animal inclination. It has therefore come to this in Maryland and Virginia, that slaves are carefully *bred* so that the quality may be improved without importation from elsewhere.

"The question here," writes Waitz, "is about something wholly different from the import or transference of labourers, about something different even from an immense amount of material suffering—the perfect moral depravation of the slaves and the slave-dealers is a necessary consequence of slave-dealing, and this as necessarily extends to the master who buys them, and to his family. The slave is by his position addicted to lying and stealing, he is and continues to be the natural enemy of his master, who, on his side, must aim at deceiving him as much as possible as to his interests, at embruting him, or not allowing his mental capacity to rise above a certain low grade, since otherwise his whole relation to him could not continue to be maintained. To care for the education of the slaves means, in all cases, to make emancipation a necessity. But apart from all abuse of labour, which everywhere is so easy for

men wherever it is quite unrestricted, apart also from the hardening of heart which must ensue where slavery familiarises with the sight of pain and destroys the instinct of sympathy, it brings a dishonour upon work, which is equally injurious to the master and the slave. . . . Under the constant pressure of the rod, all is at last hypocrisy. The slaves are simply machines, as much without wills as a good domestic animal, which at last has no other enjoyment of its existence than in being well and abundantly foddered at fixed times. . . . The negroes removed from their home are no longer *people*; their language and their country are forgotten; all family bonds are torn asunder. . . . It may be that in later times what was necessary for their physical existence has been done. This was not the case formerly, and it has been done of late only after they were morally ruined."

Slavery has now been abolished in almost all Christian states and colonies, in most cases indeed after long and difficult, and sometimes bloody, struggles. But its demoralising effects are far from being at an end, to say nothing of their being superseded by the implantation of new virtues. The depravation inoculated for centuries has its after effects even in a state of freedom. As was formerly pointed out, little or nothing was done on the part of the slaveholding states to educate the blacks for an eventual emancipation. The mission had been obstructed in every way, and in several states instruction and baptism had been legally prohibited, and threatened with punishment. "The sudden emancipation must now," as Waitz remarks, "have acted similarly, and even worse, than the proclamation of a universal communistic division of property would act among us in Europe, by which the lower classes would

find themselves incited to tyranny against the higher. It is due only to the almost incredible good-nature of the negroes, that not only no scenes of horror, but that not even any disturbance, has occurred on this occasion." After emancipation the negro is generally like a prisoner discharged after years of captivity, who does not know what to make of his freedom. The previous deprivation of rights has everywhere been brought to an end; but in the public sentiment the free negro remains still a being of inferior sort, who is to be treated with contempt. "The prejudice of race exists in the United States in a strength and exclusiveness which have not their parallel anywhere else. Even in the Northern States the coloured man is an outlaw and a reprobate. Even as far as the quadroom, the negro and his posterity is branded with the name of the refuse of mankind, and is put under the ban of a curse which represents him as not even worthy of toleration."

A great part of the North American as well as the West Indian negroes had indeed become Christians while slavery still ruled. But no man of intelligence would put the results of the mission to the credit of the civilization introduced by the system of slavery. Certainly the oppression under which the poor blacks sighed made them peculiarly receptive of the tidings of the Gospel; but that these tidings were brought to them is not due to the slaveholders either in North America or in any other colony.⁸ Without their co-operation, and generally in spite of their very active opposition, the slaves have been brought to Christianity by the agents of the Christian mission, impelled by the love of Christ—a triumph of the God who governs the world, who always knows how to bring good out of the wickedness

of men, but who should never be introduced in support of the old immoral maxim, "Let us do evil, that good may come." And even after the emancipation, it has been, so far as we see, only the missionary societies that have, at great cost, earnestly laboured to educate the freed slaves to a right use of their freedom, and to make of them useful members of human society. If the result hitherto is comparatively small, the blame lies not on the mission, but upon the representatives of civilization, who give little or no support to its efforts for the accomplishment of its gigantic undertaking, and who should be ashamed of finding fault with those who are doing their best. Napoleon was once walking along a street with a lady who was unwilling to give way to a man carrying a burden, who was coming in the opposite direction. The emperor drew her aside, saying, "Respect for the burden, madam." If people will not support the mission, let them at least respect the work which it is doing and the burden which it is bearing. It is certainly not generous for those to sneer who will not themselves touch the burden.

Gerland, in his book on the *Dying-Out of the Nature-Peoples*, introduces the chapters which describe the treatment of these peoples by the whites with the words: "We come now to the darkest points in our whole picture, to the darkest portion, perhaps, of the whole history of mankind." For those to whom the facts hitherto stated shall not appear sufficiently to prove the truth of this assertion, a glance at the history of the behaviour of the white immigrants towards the aborigines of South Africa will remove all doubt. "The poor aborigines of South Africa"—thus Wangemann, in agreement with Von Rohden, pictures the occurrences there—"had too soon to experience that the

Christian, who, instead of introducing the Gospel, and with it the powers of a new life, brings only himself, his civilization, his desire of mastery and gain, is far more oppressive than the heathen, and far more dangerous than the beasts from which the barbarous heathen can protect himself. The history of the poor people, since they had the misfortune to come into contact with the colonists, is comprehended in a few words: The white man has first made use of the aborigines, then over-reached and defrauded them, then robbed them, then enslaved them, then ill-used and hunted them like wild beasts of the forest, and at last exterminated and banished all that would not serve him. . . . With the increasing population of whites, all means of independent sustenance was cut off from the free Hottentots. Their cattle-pastures were in possession of the white men, the game was scared away by the cultivation of the land—what remained for the poor people but to retire into the caves and cliffs of the hills, and thence, by theft and plundering of their white oppressors, to obtain the necessary support of life? A state of war ensued. To the haughtiness of the stronger were united the passion and the thirst of revenge of those who had been injured in the war, and so the Boer lost the last trace of human feeling with respect to the Hottentot. The word *man* was understood as meaning only a white man. The blacks were called “black cattle,” “black sheep,” “black commodities,” and as such the poor creatures were treated. To shoot down a black in mere wantonness was not regarded as murder. When one of our missionaries was remonstrating with a Boer that he had again stained himself with human blood, he answered, “Oh no, sir, such a sin as killing a man I never committed.” “But last

Thursday you shot down your black servant." "Oh, you mean a sheep, sir ; yes, I shot him."

In the matter of the crying wrongs done by the colonists, the Colonial Government showed itself faint-hearted and feeble, which naturally confirmed them in their insolence. "Thus the godless character grew among the Boers without restraint, and while the Government at the beginning of the eighteenth century had permitted deeds of insolence, it came to this at the end of the same century, that they became abettors of the wrong-doers, and helped in shedding the blood of the natives. In the year 1702, there was an expedition of colonists, 45 men strong, provided with 4 waggons and 32 draught-oxen, undertaken among the Hottentot tribes, and returned rejoicing with 2200 head of cattle and 2500 sheep, which had been taken as booty, or obtained from their owners by barter for worthless articles, brass buttons, tobacco, and brandy. At the end of the same century (1792), in the diary of the leader of a military commando are the following entries:—

27th September.—The first kraal, Kurassin, taken ; 75 Buschmans killed ; 21 made prisoners.

15th October.—Another kraal discovered ; 85 Buschmans killed ; 23 taken.

20th October.—A third kraal discovered ; 7 killed ; 3 taken, &c.'

This statement contains no misdeeds of special atrocity ; it was merely the report of an officer regarding the day's work assigned him." "We may in some measure estimate the extent," adds Waitz to these facts, which we have taken from him ; "the extent to which this destruction of the Buschmans was carried when we consider that Colonel Collins in 1809 heard an otherwise respectable man relate that he and his people within six days had killed or taken

prisoners 3200 Buschmans, to which another answered that the commandoes in which he had taken part had cost 2700 Buschmans their lives. Thomson knew a colonist who in 30 years had taken part in 32 such raids, in one of which 200 Buschmans were killed. With the commencement of the English rule at the Cape, the commando system should have been put a stop to ; but the Boers were so much accustomed to it that it was impossible to abolish it all at once. Between 1797 and 1823, there were 53 commandoes officially planned. It is not doubtful that in 1823 the system was in full operation again after some interruptions, and it appears to have fared worse with the Buschmans under the English rule than even under the Dutch." In the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State, the Boers have in part continued the ill-treatment of the natives down to the latest period.

"After the foregoing"—so Waitz concludes his statement—"there can be no need of additional proofs that the Boers offer a most decided resistance to all efforts to raise the natives from their barbarism, and especially therefore to the mission ; and no one will be surprised to hear that they not rarely formed plots against the missionaries, even against a Livingstone, whose station of Kolobeng they destroyed. Even the officials greatly opposed the mission, because their only concern was to obtain labourers for their extensive properties."

We must therefore agree without reservation with Gerland when he states that under the influence of culture, the Hottentots are become much ruder, lazier, and morally worse than at the time when we first became acquainted with them. And Wangemann says : "Could the Hottentot, when for more than a century he has been treated like a

beast, when he had to see his children stolen from him, his wife and his daughters subjected to outrage, when he himself was never for a moment safe from the rifle and the samboke of his white tyrants—when, moreover, he never heard of God and His Word—could he become aught else than a spiritless and stubborn animal? Was it to be wondered at that he made no conscience of stealing from his master, of lying and cheating whenever an opportunity was afforded him?—that he sought in brandy at least a temporary excitement, and wallowed in impurity and lasciviousness?

“It was inevitable that the population of the country visibly diminished, and that in the same proportion the white masters were necessitated by the lessening of the number of servants to get a supply in other ways. A motley assortment of slaves from all the neighbouring peoples—Mozambiques, Negroes, Kaffirs, even Hindus, Malays, and mongrels of all sorts, was formed, and a bastard generation grew up. Thousands of Mohammedans moved into the country. Such is the population which the mission found in the Cape Colony, without nationality, without morality, without rights, without religion, almost without superstition, without a language of their own—a people wholly sunk in sin and misery.”

The representations now given of course refer mainly to what are now Cape districts. But *mutatis mutandis*, the European civilization further northward and eastward has not dealt much better with the coloured aborigines, to say nothing of the slave trade, which has brought matters to such a pass among the blacks of the dark continent that they conceive of the devil as white. To avoid too great diffuseness, we omit any special remarks on this; we pass by also the repeated Kaffir wars, as well as the diffi-

culties occasioned by the faults of the English Government, in order to advert, in a few words, to the destructive influence which brandy is exerting among the black population all over the continent, wherever white men have settled.

We let only two eye-witnesses speak. The mission superintendent, Kropf, who, from almost twenty-five years' labour in British Kaffraria, thoroughly knows the state of matters there, writes with reference to the causes of the war with Xosa Kaffirs in 1877-8:⁹ "British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape Colony. . . . Of the permission to erect brandy-shops for the blacks, which was not allowed in British Kaffraria till then, use was most extensively made. It is notorious that the black people are so fond of nothing as of fire-water. Sir George Grey had trained the Kaffirs to sheep-farming, in order to make them more settled. But now, sheep and cattle and all else went into the pockets of the spirit-shopkeepers; and the Kaffirs were poorer and more godless than before. The growing consumption of brandy was one of the chief causes of the last war. No one in our country has even an approximate conception of the misery which brandy has produced here. In the treatise of Professor Christlieb on the *Indo-British Opium Trade and its Effects*, he says, 'Substitute *Kaffirland* for *China*, and *brandy* for *opium*, and you will not only have a true representation of the misery in this country, but will learn what has caused it—viz., the shopkeeper policy of England.'

How colossal is the import of brandy into West Africa is shown by the statement of the negro-pastor, Johnson, who, in his interesting report on his visitation-tour in Yorubaland, writes thus: "Brandy-drinking opposes a dreadful obstacle to our work and the real progress of the

country. The trade in rum is, alas! rapidly increasing; nothing sells so well; the consumption is very great. I have seen with alarm a comparative table of the custom revenue of Lagos for last year (1877). In the year 1876, the import of spirits in six months amounted in value to £24,326. In 1877 it rose in the same period to £69,933, while the sale of cotton goods only rose from £135,060 to £155,995. The blockade imposed on the harbour of Dahomey explains in some degree indeed these astounding figures with respect to the custom-house at Lagos; but the fact remains, notwithstanding, that the consumption here is increasing. Any one who knows what misery drunkenness has produced elsewhere, and who feels, as I do, that his own countrymen have not the strength long to withstand this deluge of rum and brandy, will be grieved in heart at the sight of his home and of other coast-lands. Certainly it is deeply to be deplored that this poison comes from Christian lands, some of which have sent missionaries into this country. Unless a remedy be applied, this brandy-deluge threatens to become a greater curse for Africa than all the foreign slave-trade with all its hellish cruelties has ever been." In Banana, at the mouth of the Congo, Dr. Gussfeld had occasion to pass through the store-houses of the Dutch Trade Emporium. "First," he writes, "I went into immense apartments, in which were cask by cask in rows, and cask on cask in towers. Every one is filled with that poisonous liquid, which is known by the name of negro-rum, and finds its way into the remotest villages, even beyond the great forest. Another apartment is occupied with cubical green-painted cases, each containing a dozen bottles of Geneva (gin). This liquid, a drink of the worst sort, passes for something far finer

than the rum, and forms a favourite beverage of the negroes of rank. Without rum or gin it would be impossible to conclude any bargain." It is known from Stanley's travels how, in the neighbourhood of the West African coast, the fully equipped expedition was in the greatest danger of being refused passage through a certain district, because it was not prepared to offer rum as tribute; so much has European traffic accustomed the poor blacks to the receiving of the ruinous brandy. Indeed, rum takes the place of money in the traffic.

Let a little episode be permitted here. The report submitted to the German Reichstag with reference to the treaty of friendship concluded with the Samoan Islands, contains the following passage:¹⁰ "On shore (of the Island Taritari) we found the whole population seated in groups under the cocoa-trees, with gin-bottles, and the greater part of them perfectly drunk. Whether this was the Sunday forenoon service was not clear to us. There are missionaries in the island." On the ground of this quotation communicated to the Reichstag by the Bamberg deputy, and received with satisfaction by the "Honourable House," the said gentleman remarked that "the said report deals humorously with missionary matters." We must confess that this "humour" does not greatly impress us, and besides we utterly lack the ability to apprehend the logic of it. Be it so, as the report states:—surely the fact that there are missionaries in the island is not chargeable with the intoxication of the multitude of islanders. Even its fanatical enemies have not, so far as we know, accused it of teaching the people to drink brandy. But it has been the trade, which imports the gin-bottle, and thereby lessens extremely the success of the mission.

Where is the logic of a humorous remark on the mission? Why is not the trade held responsible for that which it alone has caused? We most painfully regret the occurrence of the passage quoted in an official publication of the Imperial Government, otherwise so worthily conducted, and striving to be fair even towards the mission. Such humorous dealing with the mission—to use no stronger expression—we never meet with in the English Blue Books. Also, we must be allowed to doubt whether “satisfaction” is the proper expression of feeling in so “honourable a house” as the German Reichstag is, when it is “humorously” suggested of a maudlin gathering around the gin-bottle that it is perhaps in this way that they perform their Sabbath morning service!

We now return once more to Western Africa. To our astonishment Dr. Hubbe-Schleiden defends the brandy trade in Equatorial Africa, in so far as he disputes the statement that this trade is demoralising the blacks. “The fact is, at all events,” writes this man, who is otherwise so distinguished by his thoughtful, solid judgments, “that the negroes have not learned from the Caucasians to know the effects and the use of spirituous liquors. They understand quite well, by fermentation and the addition of herbs, to make their own palm-wine and their beer intoxicating. Further, it may be concluded from the fact that a great deal of palm-wine is still drunk by the negroes, that the supply of rum does not satisfy their demand for intoxicating drinks. Further, even among the most sunken coast-tribes, and at the worst of times, the imported rum has never exceeded a third of the value of the total imports. Further, while the quantity of rum under the East African trade is no doubt increasing absolutely, it is very considerably

decreasing relatively, that is in proportion to the other articles of trade; which are mostly of a durable kind. From this it is clear that through the influence of the trade even in places where the mission and other instruments of our civilization are not acting, the demand for rum is comparatively restricted, and in this view the good influence of the trade outweighs its bad aspects. Lastly, and this is here the decisive point of view, rum has, besides, an economical importance, through which it becomes quite indispensable for trade, as it serves one of the essential functions of money with us."

Must it not be that an esteemed authority, who was himself energetic as a merchant in West Africa, is here doing a little pleading on his own account, and that his objectivity, otherwise so strict, is thus a little discomposed? We know right well that the African, not only of the West Coast, but also of the East, and the central interior, has uniformly a great fondness for intoxicating drinks; as is confirmed anew by the reports of the various mission-expeditions, especially towards the Victoria Nyanza. But does any justification of the brandy-traffic follow from this? Does it justify me, when I give a man brandy, that he is a drunkard already? To us the opposite conclusion seems the right one. Precisely because the disposition to drink is already existent, so much the less ought opportunity to be afforded for its gratification, lest it be thereby increased. Dr. Hubbe-Schleiden introduces into his books, which are in many respects so excellent, views thoroughly sound, with which we are in sympathy, that the negro, being not yet ripe for independence, must be to a certain extent treated as a child, and must be subjected to the educative power of authority and moral ascendancy. Why will he

be untrue to his own principles, when the question of the brandy-trade is under discussion, regarding which he must confess that it at least contains temptations to complete demoralisation? Is it educationally wise and morally right to lead men into temptation, who are in fact unfit to resist the temptation?

Granted that the demand is far from being satisfied with the supply, are there not in civilized Europe laws which prohibit the supply of brandy to the drunkard who demands it? Must we not, since we occupy not only the mercantile, but the moral and educational standpoint, in the first instance act just so with respect to the feeble negroes. Dr. Hubbe-Schleiden finds comfort in this, that brandy forms but a third part of the imports, and that the quantity of rum imported is not increasing relatively, though it is absolutely. May not this conscience-soothing argumentation be somewhat influenced by sophistry, as it so easily adapts itself to self-justification? To us it seems terrible enough that the importation of brandy amounts to a third part of the total importation. In other words, that means that the consumer receives brandy for a third part of his articles of exchange, or drinks a third part of his income.* Let us suppose this proportion transferred to a European civilized state, and what astounding moral, cultural, and even mercantile conditions would ensue? Then our author expressly acknowledges the absolute increase of the quantity of rum imported. We can find only moderate comfort in this, that the import of goods "mostly of a durable kind" is increasing, because the counteraction of the demoralising effect of

* Let us be fair even to an opponent. No doubt a very considerable part of the consumer's income is spent on articles of home growth, whereas it is here assumed that the whole is spent on imported commodities.—*Trans.*

the brandy thereby is rather apparent than real. It cannot much alter the fact that the drinker who gets more brandy gets also more of other commodities.

Finally, we cannot recognise as relevant the decisive view of the economical importance of brandy as a currency. Granted that now the commercial intercourse cannot be carried on without this currency. But whose is the blame? Undoubtedly it is the trade's. It was in mercantile respects very advantageous, especially at the beginning of the commercial intercourse, to take the products of the country in exchange for brandy. In this way purchases were made very cheap, and the natives, whose evil propensity was thus gratified, were most conveniently deceived. The native who is longing for rum, and who is already intoxicated, forgot and forgets—as Dr. Gussfeld expressly states—the proper value of the commodities. Now the people are accustomed to this currency; but does it follow from this that they are never to be weaned from this evil custom? Does it not rather follow that when new ways of trade are opened, we must introduce them? Surely other and more real articles of traffic may be brought into the market, which would “serve,” instead of brandy, “the essential functions of money with us.” It is so, for example, wherever missionary trading societies exist. Why should brandy find its justification elsewhere as an indispensable medium of exchange?

But enough. We fear that we should be doing a superfluous work were we to undertake a lengthened proof of the demoralising effects of the importation of brandy. Suppose that an opportunity were given to intelligent Africans, and even to some South Sea Islanders, as has been given to the Indians of North America, to speak

publicly on this subject in the presence of white men, they would, like them, picture with extreme eloquence and emotion, the ruin which the fire-water brought to them by the representatives of civilization has wrought among them. (Cf. Note 9.)

We close our panorama of the unwholesome fruits which contact with the European civilization has brought in abundant measure to the non-Christian peoples, however little it is exhaustive of the subject. Many volumes must be written, if we would give a full view of this "darkest portion" of the history of civilization. But the statements which we have made, derived only from the most absolutely trustworthy sources, and by no means including the most dreadful, are more than sufficient to justify the assertion that the civilization in question, whose representatives are, alas! so numerous everywhere in all non-Christian lands, that this sort of civilization is so far from being a pioneer of the mission, that it rather makes the mission a Christian and national debt of honour, as a sort of amends to the misused, robbed, and demoralised heathen.

It is certainly to be thankfully regarded as a special dispensation of God's providence, that the mission-work of our century, which is ever assuming larger dimensions, proceeds from peoples who are also the bearers of the culture of the present day, and who impress the non-Christian peoples by their immense cultural superiority. Apart altogether from the apologetic value of this fact, inasmuch as it affords alike to Christians and to heathens the incontrovertible proof that Christianity must be a

cultural power of the first order; apart also from the pioneer-service, which in the strictest sense of the word this culture has rendered, and is continuously rendering to the modern mission by its magnificent means of communication: apart, finally, from the hundreds of aids which it affords the missionary for the improvement of his position, and the more comfortable arrangement of his vocation—it gives him also, even among the so-called civilized heathen, a position of superiority which was wanting to the apostles in their time. “The Caucasian has, in the cultural development of his race for many thousands of years, an advantage over the Ethiopian,” and also over other uncivilized peoples, “by which he is superior to him as the man to the child, and wherever the consciousness of this superiority remains, there will also that advantage remain, however personally he may be ungifted in comparison with the acute children of nature.”

“The missionary goes forth,” writes the experienced Livingstone, “with all the support that art and science can afford. It would have been otherwise had God so ordered that heathen peoples had made the discoveries which are now the property of those lands from which the missionaries go forth. Other nations appear to have been near to reaching these discoveries, but their development was always arrested by a something. The Chinese knew the art of printing, the compass, and gunpowder, long before they were thought of in the West. Porcelain and silk-manufacture, painting, chemistry, anatomy, astronomy, and literature—all made progress there up to a certain period; but then, instead of advancing to their amazing practical applications, as among the Christian peoples, the inventive faculty degenerated into a remarkable national instinct of

imitation. What would the missionary have been able to effect in China if the Chinese had got ahead of us in our discoveries in art and science? What arguments could an unscientific missionary have brought against a Buddhist priest who might have withstood him armed with the knowledge of the magic lantern,¹¹ and the manipulations of chemistry? The Arabs were on the point of making several of our later chemical discoveries. We got from them our arithmetical and algebraic characters, our paper-making, our gunpowder, and most of our best medicines. Had they made our discoveries, while they at the same time believed that they must propagate their religion by the sword, what should our poor island country have been able to effect in opposition to Mohammedan ships, guided by the compass and propelled by steam? But since God has so ordained it, that every missionary who goes among the heathen bears on himself the stamp of a superior civilization and power, he has the constant advantage of belonging to a superior race, which is recognised as such by the whole world. The embassy will be favoured by the *prestige* of this superiority, and wherever it is received this happens with some of the most prominent heads of the tribe."

His superiority in information places the missionary everywhere in the position of becoming a teacher and educator among those peoples to whom he is sent, and even among the so-called cultured peoples, for example in India, it gives him, even in the eyes of the educated classes of the people, the right of educational action, and procures general respect not only for the popular schools, but also for the schools of learning which are under his direction. For direct opposition to religious error also it renders him important service. When, for example, according to the

Puranas, the sacred Mount Meru is represented as the central point of the earth, and is said to have a diameter of 32,000 yogans at its top, and of 10,000 at its base, so as to resemble the seed-capsule of a lotus-flower; also that within the world-enclosing hill Lokaloka there are seven seas, one of salt, one of sugar, one of wine, one of butter, one of curds, one of milk, and one of water, and seven continents; and that the whole earth floats like a great ferry-boat on the original sea, a moderate amount of geographical knowledge, such as everybody possesses in Christian lands, suffices to demonstrate the erroneousness of this representation, and thereby to utterly shake the credibility of the heathen religious authority. But such a demonstration on the part of the missionary has more weight on this account, that he is a man belonging to a people who excel in scientific intelligence, and is regarded *à priori* as better instructed in these matters.

But it is not the intellectual superiority alone that procures regard, in the eyes of the people among whom he lives, for the European missionary, even the average missionary, whose intelligence, measured according to the standard of our University science, is very moderate.¹² Even what he brings with him, or what he knows soon to provide for himself, though but the modest residue of our civilization, his dress, his dwelling and its furniture, his work tools, his whole bearing and manner of life, his noble family-life, his greater dexterity and capacity, his ability to render help in sickness and other emergencies, &c., give him a preponderance over those around him. Above all, it raises him in their estimation that he belongs to a people, great, influential, far advanced in civilization, of whom they have perhaps only a very dark and erroneous

conception, but know at all events that they are in every respect far ahead of their own people. And it is not of little consequence that the natives receive the longer the greater impression of the mighty, far-reaching power of his home-land, under whose protection, though so far off, the missionary still is, and may thereby be restrained in no small measure from constant attacks on his life and property. At all events, there would be far more murders and robberies, if the heathen did not recognise the strong arm of the protecting power that stands behind the missionary. The advantages afforded to the modern mission by our civilization are far more important than the drawbacks which necessarily spring from it.

It has always appeared to us to be one of the most wonderful masterpieces of the Pauline mission-method, when the great apostle of the Gentiles writes of himself: "To the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to those who are under the law, I became as under the law, that I might gain those who are under the law. To them who are without law, I became as without law (though I am not without law before God, but am in the law of Christ), that I might gain them who are without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I have become all things to all men, that by all means I might save some" (1 Cor. ix. 20 ff.) We may think of the normative importance of the apostolic mission-method as we will; but without all doubt this avowal of Paul concerning himself contains a principle of unchangeable permanence and of universal obligation for the mission work of all times. Not only the principle of individualising in reference to the spiritual dealing with individuals, but the principle of accommodation in reference

to the missionary pedagogy of nations. Even our Lord Jesus Christ, who was sent by the Father to become the Saviour of fallen mankind, and to establish in it the kingdom of God, became a man like unto us in all respects, sin excepted.

We are not now writing a treatise on mission-method ; and we should be chargeable with an unwarranted digression, were we to enter upon the establishment and development of this principle. But the connection of our deduction permits, yea, demands, of us to glance at one side of it. The missionary must become a fellow-countryman to those whom he would win ; a Chinaman to the Chinese, a Hindu to the Hindus, an Indian to the Indians, a Herero to the Hereros, a Batta to the Battas. Manifestly it is not meant that he should appropriate to himself their national evil practices, for he stands, like Paul, under the law of Christ. Neither is it meant that he share with them the standing-ground of their sunkennes, for he is to raise them aloft from their sunkennes ; but that he deny himself, yea, that after the example of Christ, he humble himself, in order as much as possible, in conformity with their national peculiarities, to live among them as one of their own, who puts himself on a level with them in all respects, excepting those whose character is specifically heathen and barbarous. Precisely *thus* will he best succeed in elevating the people morally, intellectually, and even materially in a sound and lasting fashion, and in becoming an educator of the people worthy of the name in every respect—even in respect of civilizing them—*when* by his loving accommodation he makes the people forget that he is a foreigner among them. The more he succeeds in *living himself into* the views, habits, and modes of life of the people, the more does he

bridge over the chasm which divides the foreign people from him, and the more surely does he gain influence.

There is thus assigned to the missionary a task extremely difficult in itself, and full of self-denial, which even with the best will and the largest-hearted devotedness to his calling, he will only partially fulfil. Our own narrow-mindedness—as well as the want of sympathy in our whole manner of viewing strange national peculiarities, which are often so difficult of comprehension because they are so different from our own—heaps up mountains of difficulties, whose height we learn to know in proportion as we approach them. But these difficulties are doubled, multiplied tenfold, yea, sometimes made insurmountable, by the cultural superiority which not only separates the missionary from the people among whom he preaches the Gospel, but which also is the possession, in greater or less degree, of all the white foreigners who settle there, and which demonstrates before the eyes of the non-Christian nations what is the object of secular commerce. On more than one side this superiority in culture forms a wall between the messenger of the Gospel and the objects of his action, which self-denial, united with the greatest wisdom, scarcely succeeds in wholly pulling down, and which is for him a constant temptation, instead of placing himself as much as possible on the same level with the strange people in their usages, &c., to engraft his European customs on them.

Apart from the prudential measures demanded by climate, which even the missionary cannot neglect with impunity, but which constantly present him before the eyes of the people as a foreigner, and give him the appearance of a man of importance and wealth—it will be im-

possible for him to renounce all the requirements of civilized life, to which he has been accustomed from his youth, and to order his manner of life completely after the manner of the natives. It unhappily happens not rarely that the bounds of necessity in this respect are more or less overstepped; and we cannot but take occasion to express our disapprobation of the extensive scale of comfort and of luxury which is sometimes found among English and American missionaries—very seldom among Germans. When, for example, missionaries' houses, not only in India and China, but even in Africa and Oceania, are provided with most elegant furniture, or when missionaries' wives go about like ladies in costly dresses—that may indeed be demanded for the English or American parishes through the social relations there; in the mission-field it is a luxury which quite unnecessarily widens the chasm, already so great, between our culture and the non-culture or half-culture of the natives. It is a well-known fact that a country clergyman whose house is extravagantly furnished, and whose wife plays the part of the fine lady, enjoys no great influence in his parish. The man or the woman is too fine for the people; they feel themselves separated from him, and hold aloof. They do not wish that the pastor should lodge and live like the day-labourer; on the contrary, they would take offence if he should do so. But they expect that his arrangements and mode of life should make him and his house accessible to the humblest of his parishioners. The barbarous and half-civilized man has quite the same feeling. He also in his way takes offence at unwarranted luxury, inasmuch as he shrinks from this lofty culture, and, consciously or unconsciously, justifies this shrinking on the ground of the distance betwixt him

and the missionary; and in some cases feels himself constantly tempted to the most shameless beggary from a man who is, to his apprehension, inexhaustibly rich; in others he incurs the greatest danger of making himself a ridiculous culture-caricature.

While we so decidedly reprobate all unwarranted luxury, we cannot possibly recommend to the missionary to renounce all the comforts of civilization, to which his constitution is to a certain extent habituated by his home culture. Even in India and China that could not be carried through, still less among perfectly uncivilized peoples. In the greatest number of cases the missionary must lodge, dress, and eat otherwise than the natives. He must educate his children. In short, the whole cut of his life arrangements, even though he resolutely abstains from every luxury, will bear the impress of the European civilization to which he has been accustomed from his youth. He would make a caricature of himself were he to lay aside altogether the habits of his civilized education, and be as a barbarian among the barbarians. The chasm which thereby exists between him and the natives is a much greater hindrance to the mission than either friends or foes generally suppose. It is that which gives a certain appearance of justice to the saying which continually recurs under most manifold variations among the most diverse heathen peoples, that "the Christian religion is suited to the white man, but not to us." In it lies also one of the reasons of the fact that in Africa and on the Sunda islands the Mohammedan missions are much more successful than the Christian,¹³ because the agents of the former occupy so nearly the same position in respect of civilization that the heathen do—a fact which not a few

of our travellers and ethnologists have perverted into the assertion that Islam is in effect the only form of religion suited to these people. That even the missionary who lives, according to our ideas, in the simplest fashion must appear to the heathen who occupy a cultural position so far below ours as a sort of Croesus, from whom it is held a right thing to beg and to be maintained by him, is an additional shady side.

But the evil effects of our cultural superiority reach still further, and go still deeper. The native agents, and indeed the Christians generally, are exposed by it to a great temptation, viz., to be Europeanised and therefore denationalised when they are Christianised ; and the danger exists for Christians as well as heathens of degenerating into often ridiculous culture-caricatures, instead of treading the path of a sound civilization.

Reference has been already made to the danger of over-education and wrong education to which the native assistants are exposed, from the fact that the schools in which they were trained for their calling have been formed too much on the model of similar institutions in civilized Christendom, without its being considered that with us a millennium has passed, during which the actual curriculum of our higher schools of instruction has been gradually formed. There is demanded of the uncivilized or half-civilized heathen a bound to the educational height on which we now stand. This immediate educational bound gives rise of necessity not only to hypocrisy, feebleness, ignorance, and half-knowledge, but also to self-conceit, looking down on their countrymen, and consciously or unconsciously the wish and the effort to imitate the European missionary even in ways of the outer life, and indeed to

their doing so. To lodge and dress as he does, many of the native assistants regard as the essential of their new office. It is, however, the most tolerable part of the evil, that these Europeanised gentlemen, having accustomed themselves to European wants, claim for the leading of a life "suitable to their position" a salary which the convert churches are not able to contribute, and so they fall as a burden upon the mission-treasury. Worse still it is that this desire for a high and ever higher salary exposes many native assistants to the suspicion of having embraced their new calling for the sake of "filthy lucre;" that this suspicion undermines the respect for them on the part both of Christians and heathens, and excites a sort of jealousy between them and the better-provided European missionaries. But what we hold to be worst of all is, that these Europeanised assistants separate themselves from their countrymen, lose their position among the people, and by their denationalisation cause their fellow-countrymen to regard them as no longer "flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone." So it happens that that which is precisely the object aimed at by the employment of native assistants, the rooting of Christianity among the people, and the self-sustenance of the native churches, is hindered and retarded. There are, of course, exceptions among the Europeanised native labourers, who by their talents, their tact, their authority, and their Christian thoroughness, neutralise as much as is possible the evil referred to, as *e.g.*, Bishop Crowther, whom the negroes regard as a "black Englishman," or the well-known Kaffir pastor, Tiyo Soga, who had a Scotch wife. Yet even regarding such men, who rose head and shoulders above the great mass of their colleagues, it may be questioned whether their European-

ising has not been rather a hindrance than a help to their influence, and whether their transplanting to English high schools has not been of very doubtful value for their influence among their black fellow-countrymen. In fact, those native labourers who have remained rooted among their people, though far less civilized, such as a Khothabiu, a Quala, a Joel Bulu, a Sylvanus Item, have had a far more extensive influence.

The native Christians are exposed to a similar danger to that which besets the native assistants. Only too easily there insinuates itself into many among them a confusion between Christianity and European civilization, so that they regard themselves as converted to the former when they have appropriated to themselves a few fragments of the latter; as also among the heathen the idea extensively prevails that to wear European clothes and to become Christians are identical. It were unfair to lay the blame upon the missionaries alone of this confusion, or of the prejudices generally associated with our civilization.¹⁴ The missionaries are by no means the only representatives of the Christian civilization among the heathen peoples. The number of Western Christian men of culture who are drawn into foreign lands by worldly commerce is far greater in most of the mission-fields than the number of the missionaries. In all these representatives of Christianity, even in those who make themselves a scandal by their immorality, the heathen see essentially the same civilization that they observe in the missionaries; thus they cannot be much blamed if they identify them.

With this constantly occurring identification is connected another evil, viz., that the young Christians exchange their national modes of life and customs for the European

civilization to a greater extent than the Gospel requires, and thus they alienate themselves from their countrymen. It is often, indeed, on account of the abandonment of heathen idolatrous customs, which is inseparable from the acceptance of the Gospel, that the heathen say to their countrymen who have become Christians: "You are no longer our associates, since you refuse to take part in the observance of our festivals."¹⁵ But not rarely occasion is given for this reproach against their Christian countrymen through the needless assumption on their part of European forms of civilization, and that not only among the barbarous peoples, but even in India and China; while, certainly, it ought not to be overlooked that through the intimate connection between heathen customs and national customs it is often difficult to decide where abandonment is a duty, and where retention.

More firm-grasping and more injurious than the evils which have hitherto been noted, and which are more or less neutralised by Christianity, is that which the superiority of our civilization produces on the non-Christian peoples in this way, that it induces them immediately to appropriate, to engraft, or rather to stick on, to themselves, some outward form of our civilization, and that they thereby exhibit culture-caricatures, which are not only ridiculous, but are hurtful to their effective civilization and Christianisation. We are not without caricatures of this sort even among ourselves. When, for example, people who have suddenly become rich, and who occupy a very low level of inward and outward refinement, build themselves splendid houses, and put pianos, book-cases, &c., in the luxuriantly furnished rooms; or when boys strut about with gloves, frock-coats, cylinder hats, or girls in the most modern dresses and false

hair; when one hears them spoken of or sees how they comport themselves, it is hard to say whether the impression produced is more comic or disgusting. And yet the unnaturalness which here depends upon the unbridged distance between the outward and the inward, is far less hurtful than when such disproportions meet us in Africa or in the South Seas. But in this there is no difference, that the caricature—among white people or among coloured—makes them conceited, takes from them all character, and deadens them against religious and moral impressions. So long as the heathen went about in their fantastic heathenish dress, or in a state of nudity, they were not at all such fools as they are now, when the civilization, which they ape, has invested them with silk veils, chignons, and such like, and therewith has turned their heads. Formerly they were human beings as nature made them, now many of them are become jackanapes. Of course, they have remained inwardly just what they were. The tinsel of civilization has only superficially varnished over the old heathenish evil nature with all its pollution, so that it shines out through a hundred chinks. We take only a cursory view.

Without stopping at Sierra Leone or Liberia, to which, in this connection, reference has been made already, we go straight to South Africa. Thus, *e.g.*, Dr. Wangemann, in his tour of inspection, tells us how “the English from all round about assembled to attend a Christian Kaffir wedding, where the bride was decked out, after the latest fashion-journal, in velvet and in silk stockings,” and a clergyman of the Anglican Church came up to him in perfect ecstasy and said: “Is it not a beautiful sign of progress and civilization that we have already got so far with the blacks?” One can scarcely trust his ears; but, alas! there

are even among those engaged in missions, and especially amongst Englishmen, people enough who take culture-caricature for culture. "A similar Kaffir wedding," writes the same authority, "took place lately. The bride in fine muslin dress, a veil of the finest texture, scarcely close enough to conceal the head of hair beneath it, with sashes, white satin shoes, an expensive shawl—only the gilt chain with medallion is wanting to make the whole complete. But even for this provision is made. The missionary's wife, enraptured by the ecstatic sight, takes them from her own neck and hangs them around that of the Kaffir lady. A few days after a German lady visits the newly-married Kaffir lady. She finds her stretched on the sofa, while her mother is sewing stuff for her husband. 'Dost thou then not thyself do this work?' 'No; such work do I not.' 'Now what doest thou then?' 'I read novels!' Of course, a whole row of oxen must disappear from the rich father's herds in order to pay for these gew-gaws. But the greater part is bought on credit."

The consequence is that even the newly-confirmed will come to church in like adornment. Many English missionaries rejoice over this "triumph of the Gospel," and encourage such nuisances. But even Germans in the neighbourhood have to suffer by the contagion. . . . But the money-making English merchant has got his percentage, and such encouragement of trade contributes essentially to the advance of the national economy! Sister Kropf made the experiment of setting up an opposition shop, in which only suitable and ordinary goods were sold; but the Kaffirs do not come to it. It is only tinsel and frippery that they seek, and that not for ready money, but on credit. Our shop must be shut up with a loss."

With much humour, Lady Barker describes a number of such comic culture-caricatures. Only two specimens. "I lately saw a Kaffir wearing a hat of the most original pattern. It was a large, pliable, grey felt. Strong strings were fastened to its brim on both sides. The Kaffir had put on the hat so that it was upside down, and the crown stood on his skull, in which position the head-piece was kept by the two strings fastened to the ears and under the chin. The black fellow had all sorts of other finery, polished bones of fowls, feathers stuck in his hair. The inverted hat, whose soft crown was besides fastened to its possessor's woolly wig by wires from soda-water bottles, crowned the whole. I never, I think, saw a more laughable sight; but Charlie (the black servant) stared at the head-piece in admiration, and with his hands struck together, and called out in his best English and in the most insinuating manner: 'Has Inkosa (my lady) not an old hat, ma'am?—a hat like that?' Doubtless he cherished the ardent desire to imitate this wonderful fashion."¹⁶

The second picture transfers us to the mission-station of Edendale, which is otherwise so heartily commended by the lady, and of which we have already made mention. Unhappily, culture-caricatures are not wanting even here. The authoress visited the house of the occupant of the station. The sitting-rooms were simple, and were furnished with suitable articles. "But the walls of the room were the most brilliant and the most comic that I ever saw. Originally painted white, they were now completely covered with red, blue, and yellow patterns, which formed correct symmetrical and geometrical figures. A many-coloured star, inside of a cross, appeared to be one of the most favourite patterns. The effect was very much as if

a kaleidoscope had been turned towards the wall, and all the coloured figures had adhered to it. But grand as the room was, it sank to zero in comparison with the visitors' room and the English bedroom. . . . When the door of the former was opened, I started back in amazement at the mighty roses and lilies which seemed to rush upon me. Never in my life have I seen anything similar in the way of wall-paper. The pattern would have been large enough for St. James's Hall. Chairs and sofas were covered with marvellously-coloured chintz, and brilliant covers of pearls and wool adorned the tables. China toys and pictures were in profusion. . . . At one part of the little room some bricks had been taken from the wall, so as to form a niche, in which stood vases and statuettes. The whole was draped with red scalloped calico. I must confess that the black hostess and her numerous female friends showed to advantage on this elaborate background. . . . At last we went into the bedroom—the men also going with us—and there was an iron bedstead, a chest of drawers, and, to crown the whole, a complete toilet-table hung round with white and red stuff, and provided with a looking-glass. In front of the looking-glass on the table stood half-a-dozen of China cups, which were arranged in systematic order, the saucers reversed. 'What are the cups for?' I asked in simplicity. 'That's the English fashion, missus; all white ladies have cups standing upon such tables.'" Lady Barker, in order not to bring herself under the suspicion of bad taste, cast no doubt upon this assertion, and proceeds to describe the wardrobe of the mistress of another house: "The owner was highly delighted when I said to her that I might well borrow some of her beautiful dresses, and still more when I assured her of the simple truth that

I do not possess half so beautiful things. Silk dresses of all the colours of the rainbow waved on all the pomegranate bushes; and one might have stocked a shop with the mantles and jackets. The young and very pretty woman was the wife of a rich, elderly man, and I could well suppose how her light, dainty figure would look in these heavy and voluminous dresses."

We turn from Africa, without stopping at Madagascar, where similar pictures would meet us in abundance, to the islands of the South Seas. On his railway journey from Foxton to Palmerston in New Zealand, Buchner travelled with a Maori, who immediately entered into conversation with him. "He made me take notice of his fine clothes, of his boots which came up to his knees, and also that he wore drawers. I must admire and feel them all, trousers and waistcoat, boots, coat and hat. Specially proud was he of his gold watch, which he held with triumphant laughter over against my silver one. He told me the price of every article, and was astonished, and perhaps also incredulous, when he asked me the price of mine, and I did not know." At Napier, a town of 3000 inhabitants, the upper class of natives lived quite in European style. The traveller saw brown cavaliers and ladies on horseback. The ladies wore waving long habits, cylinder hats with flying veil, and held riding-switches in their gloved hands. But he was offended by their black unarranged hair, and in all their movements he found so much uncouthness and angularity, and that their affectation had a highly comic if not a repulsive effect." Similar displays were presented to him in Tauranga, where he saw Maori ladies with bristling uncombed hair, but elegant bonnets and veils, while all were barefooted. A single lady, not altogether young, moved

painfully and awkwardly in tight boots. The same traveller notices like things at Hawaii, a singular mixture of old barbaric and new civilization.

Enough of pictures, which, under modifications, are more or less applicable to all the nature-peoples in contact with our civilization. And not to these alone. India and Japan have also their culture-caricatures; only, China hitherto forms upon the whole an exception, because it has dealt very shyly with our outer civilization. People speak, as is well known, of *young India*, and *young Japan*; and by these terms is understood not only that direction which represents sound progress, that is, the organic incorporation of Western culture into the proper national life, but much more the caricatures which are inseparable from it, the rootless plants, the unnatural mongrel-forms, and the transitory circumstances which proceed from it. Even among the so-called intelligent society of India, even among those who have obtained the title of *Doctor* by a university examination, there is, with many exceptions, not very much real intelligence. They have appropriated the show much more than the thing. "In many cases, of all that they have learned nothing remains but a few phrases, which are used again and again, and with many, intelligence is only an outward whitewash. It is notorious that the ambition of 'young Bengal' is to imitate Englishmen in dress and manner. Great numbers of their babus may be seen on the esplanade as well-rigged dandies. More rarely their ladies adopt the European fashions." But what is worst of all is, among these young Indians the new-fashioned intelligence consists mainly in this, that they make pretence of having completely broken off from the faith of their fathers, while they are firmly bound in the fetters

of caste-prejudices, notwithstanding their eating of beef-steaks. The indifferentism, without faith, destitute of all religious and moral earnestness, is often enough—as indeed it is also among ourselves—only the tinkling of the bell, by which they think that they can most infallibly make a public display of their advancement in culture.

Even in the Japanese reform movement, which altogether deserves our highest regard, and more than that, our sympathy and admiration, and which must be recorded as an important phenomenon in the history of the world, far less than all that glitters is gold. Our culture-enthusiasts are accustomed to exert themselves somewhat one-sidedly in extravagant laudations of this magnificent culture-revolution, and to be almost blind to its shady side and its dangers. When, for example, in the largely circulated book of Hintze the last chapter is headed “The New Japan,” we are presented with an optimistic glorification of all new measures, which does not give a very brilliant proof of the critical ability and educational sobriety of the author. With reference to the fantastic proposal of the Japanese consul in Washington, Arinori Mori, to make the English language, with certain modifications, the language of his country, he scarcely shows any hesitation, and speaks with bated breath his doubt of the possibility of a project so startling by its novelty and its boldness. Only on one point Mr. Hintze is very conscientious, viz., on the point of religion. Here with unmistakable complacency he gathers together all the current objections of the Japanese to the introduction of Christianity into the “Land of the Sunrise,” while the thought never occurs to him whether the new culture can strike its roots effectively in Japan, where, as Mr. Griffis puts it, its root, that is, Christianity, is not

introduced with it, and does not, as Yamamota expressed it, "renew the hearts of the people."

That the reforming zeal of the government extended to hairdressing, and brought so many French hairdressers into the country, that according to our author, it swarmed with them, we must be permitted to doubt his statement; and as to the statement that a determined opposition to the introduction of European fashions and clothes has been exhibited in the province of Mito, but is to be overcome by some determined individuals, this is too much even for the *Yokahama Courier*; and he made the following thoroughly correct and sound satirical remarks upon it, which Mr. Hintze characterises as only harmless humour:—"We are going forward almost too fast. It is all right that we introduce reforms, and lay great stress upon scientific education; but we cannot appropriate the morals, customs, and tastes of the Europeans by a hand's turn, nor forthwith set aside the old Japanese nature. Now look at one of our young gentlemen. They walk about the streets of Yeddo in European dress, which, however, they have garnished with gold lace and embroidery, as if they were foreign officers and diplomatists. But when the young gentleman comes home, he quickly undresses and dons his comfortable Japanese coat. It is unpleasant to him to sit on a chair, as it gives him a pain in his back; and when a Japanese friend pays him a visit, he greets him by falling on his knees and bowing his head to the ground. Why does he not receive him in European fashion? Because with the assumption of a foreign garb he has not been able to change his habits and his modes of thinking. He puts the chair aside and seats himself on the mat. At noon he is guest of a European, and finds

the viands excellent, but at home he holds by his native dishes, &c."

We do not purpose to sift all these Japanese reforms, which are giving birth to more or less ridiculous and injurious culture-caricatures among the population of that country. We shall only advert to a few of them. "With the co-operation of a French and a German jurist," Hintze informs us, with great satisfaction, "a new penal code, on the basis of the *Code Napoléon*, has been framed, and has been carried through the parliament." We leave the parliament to stand on its own merit, although we feel regarding it something as Buchner does with regard to that of Hawaii, that it makes rather a comic impression on us. Among the faults of the French colonial system, the author of *Ethiopia*, a scientific and thoroughly intelligent jurist, reckons the introduction of the French "legal relations and legal conceptions into the colonial territories, especially their law-books, which, whatever advantages they may have in Europe, are as unsuitable for international relations as any other nationally-coloured legal ordinances. The law-life is an essential portion of the people's-life; and perhaps in none of the relations of life does the character of a people so distinctly declare itself as in its conceptions of law. Corresponding to the more theoretically arranged nature of the European continent, and among these rather preceding than following, the French were able to construct their legal conceptions into a system in codes, and they have since developed these in accordance with their life and their ideas of law. But no law-book in all the world is so little adapted to the simple patriarchal relations of uncivilized or half-civilized lands, as are the French codes, the *Code Napoléon* as little as the code of commerce, or

the penal code, or the code of criminal procedure. . . . All must march in the Parisian line ; the small metropolis on the Senegal must be a miserable copy after the great metropolis on the Seine ; and so the jails are filled."

Now certainly Japan stands on a higher cultural level than Western Africa ; yet in principle the mistake is the same, and we cannot doubt for a moment that when an impartial and moderate juristically cultivated observer shall give accurate accounts of the modern legal relations introduced into Japan by the acceptance of the French legislation, just such monstrosities will be brought to light as those of which Dr. Hubbe-Schleiden tells us in West Africa. Be it remarked, in passing, that with the commendation bestowed in this connection by our author upon the English, that they do not codify any jurist theories for their colonies, and that they look more to good judges and the experience of local practice than to good laws, we agree only with limitations, as we have been repeatedly assured by Indian missionaries, especially by such as are labouring among the Koles, that European formulism, unintelligible to a great part of the natives, permits litigation to such an extent that very often *summum jus* is *summa injuria* ; those who go to law without the advice of the missionaries are ruined, and the gaining of a case often depends only on greater cunning, or upon lies and fraud, or upon accidental circumstances.

There are sicknesses in the modern world, which are nursed and cockered, rather than healed ; yea, whose introduction is trumpeted forth as a great healing, and opposition to which is laid under a bann as an offence against the progress of mankind. Such a sickness is the desire for equalising, not only in the well-known democratic or

republican sense, but also in the international sense ; so that the meaning really is, that to every people must be given a system of law and constitution, cut after the same liberal model, in order to make them free, happy, and civilized, as if the same coat would fit every man ! “The worst principle for the civilization of Africa ” (and of other lands as well), says Hubbe-Schleiden, here, as often elsewhere, hitting the nail on the head, “is the humanity-parody, liberty, equality, fraternity.” All civilizers who seek to model and equalise the various most distinct peoples, instead of individualising them by educating them according to the well-known principle *suum cuique*, do not plant culture, but only produce culture-caricatures.

But these culture-caricatures, alas ! have not only their comic, but also their tragic side. The leap which is recommended to the non-European peoples by the pure-force and steam-engine civilization, is often for them, in the literal sense, a deadly leap. Let us not be deceived by appearances. When the savage, who yesterday was clothed with a simple skin, steps forth to-morrow in European costume ; when he who lived yesterday in a simple hut, to-morrow takes possession of a stone house ; when he who yesterday employed the arrow, the club, and the bow, arms himself to-morrow with the breech-loader ; when the half-civilized Japanese, who yesterday lived in a land hermetically sealed against the foreigner, to-morrow sends his sons and daughters to European and American high-schools—there certainly appears to be a great advance, which certain culture-fanatics cannot sufficiently commend ; but in reality it is a breaking off with the previous development, which, instead of impelling the spirit to spontaneous activity, destroys the proper curative energy

in it, and at the best effects a too early ripening, whose blooms are feeble and short-lived. Every unnatural leap in the movement of progress avenges itself, and the houses built on the sand fall in heaps, when the winds blow and the waters swell.

It has been already adverted to, with reference to this, how much we have to thank God for the wisdom and the loving guidance, that our fathers, on their being evangelised, did not forthwith adopt the complete full culture of the classic peoples of antiquity, since thereby their self-action and self-standing, and so their cultural stability itself, would have been endangered. Our culture-history begins, so to speak, *ab ovo*, and climbs, step by step, to its actual height. Our cultural acquisitions have not fallen into our lap as something ready-made; we have made them for ourselves, and it is this culture-making which renders us specially a real culture-people, because with it and by it we have grown into culture. Three hundred years ago, although we were without those magnificent cultural acquirements which foreign nations have now appropriated from us, yet we were in reality a far more cultured people than the Japanese are to-day. The culture which we then possessed was the natural fruit of our own labour, it was our *possession*, which we ruled; it was rooted in our people's life, and was therefore a seed for the future. The culture, on the other hand, which the Japanese have to-day, can, as a Japanese minister in America expressly states, "make no claim to originality." It is imported, like manufactured goods, from without, and at the best, generations must pass away before the exhortation of the poet is fulfilled respecting it: "Earn it in order to possess it."

Therein lies the danger for individuals as well as for

nations, that fruits are shaken into their lap, for which they have not laboured, and for whose appropriation and appreciation they are not ripe. Our culture, which has slowly advanced by real development to its present height, is pasted outwardly upon the mission-peoples of the present day, not only by the missionaries—as cannot be too emphatically stated—but in many unintentional ways by secular intercourse; and thus the monstrous demand has been made of them by a sudden revolution to abandon their whole previous being, and to appropriate to themselves things of which they have neither the need, nor the understanding, nor the capacity. Our cultural superiority thus demands of children either at once to become full-grown men, or to use our culture-results as a sort of plaything. If the latter course is followed, the result is culture-caricatures. If not, but an earnest effort is made to comply with the former demand, the peoples in question must suddenly throw overboard the habits of life which were suited to them and they to the modes. It is manifest that the shattering of their whole previous manner of existence must be all the more dangerous for their physical, psychical, and moral life, as the new manner which takes its place is an exotic plant. So these peoples fall into the temptation of losing themselves, and becoming unrooted from the soil in which they have grown. But the more unrooted and unstable a people are, and the more their national life is decomposed, the more difficult subjects they are for the work of national Christianisation.

The demand for a sudden appropriation of our cultural acquisitions presupposes an intellectual effort, which imposes too much at once on the peoples concerned, and which cannot continue without injurious after-effects. We

speak only of the intellectual effort which lies in the department of the school. Important and undeniable as are the efforts and the results of the Mission in this department, as has been already pointed out, yet it cannot be denied that, especially when a high standard is aimed at, a leap is called for, which scarcely a few individuals can take without injury, but which, in the great mass of cases, results in strange tumblings, if not in broken arms and legs.

In what strong language should we charge with educational unskilfulness one who should allow a child, who had received only a simple primary school teaching, to overleap the gymnasium, and enter the university at once ! The appropriation of the intellectual training which we induce by our instruction of uncivilized or half-civilized peoples, involves a demand in some respects still more erroneous. People who have hitherto had virtually no acquaintance with school or literature, must be screwed up at once to a height of education, which is about equivalent to that of the lower and middle classes of our home population. Thus, what among us is the product of almost a millennium's development, is taken as the starting-post for the uncivilized peoples of the present day, who generally occupy a lower cultural position than did our heathen forefathers, when the civilizing of these peoples first began with their Christianising. Thus, a tree which has grown slowly in one soil is transplanted with its leaves and flowers or fruits into a strange and hitherto uncultivated soil, on which, even if the rooting be upon the whole successful, the tree must necessarily be enfeebled. We do not assert that on the mission-field of to-day we must begin again *ab ovo* precisely as in the mediæval, and that the training process must occupy so long a time as it has with us. The

acquisitions of our cultural development should, of course, be helpful to us in our present missionary and civilizing actions. We do not need to labour for them in the sense of making them anew. But we must educationally economise these acquisitions soberly and wisely, so that we do not transplant the tree itself into the strange soil, but only sow in that soil the seeds which it bears.

Children knowing beyond their years are an unpleasant, precocious children an unnatural, phenomenon. The former usually carry something dwarfish about them, the latter usually come to an early death. But an impression, partly of premature intelligence, and partly of precocity, is produced by no small proportion of forcibly trained subjects among the heathen peoples of the present day. The show of progress with which the new knowledge invests them is too dearly bought with the loss of their naturalness, their original force, their mental independence, and perhaps also their bodily health.

In an article on the "Latest History of the Sandwich Islands," the *Ausland*—of which we have certainly the right to say, "What can that periodical do for the good of missions?"—makes some remarks bearing on our present subject, which with all earnestness we recommend, *subtractis subtrahendis*, to the consideration of missionary labourers. He thus writes: "In the foregoing statements much may be apparently alleged in favour of, or at least in apology for, missionary action in the South Seas [as if the paper were ashamed of such a confession, and felt the need of an apology for it!] The missionaries in Hawaii are as little to be acquitted of all blame [for the dying out of the people] as the philanthropists in Van Dieman's Land. In their zeal to save the uncivilized peoples, they did not

always go to work with the needful prudence. Our Western methods of education stand too much in the foreground with them. They believed that by means of reading and writing alone an uncivilized people can be changed into refined, intellectually developed, sensible men. . . . A great part of the mischief which befel Queen Emma is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the sudden transition which her people effected in the course of a few years. One of the most important lessons for every missionary, as indeed for every teacher, must always be to maintain a proportion with the powers of his ward or scholar—[certainly, if only the non-missionaries, who come into relations with the heathen, would also lay it to heart]. Nothing is easier than to pour in knowledge with a funnel, nothing more difficult than to free the spirit from the fetters of ignorance, and to lead it to new and elevated self-action. [If only the idolisers of knowledge at home would believe the *Ausland* !] And although the individual may not himself immediately sink under the oppressive weight of undigested knowledge, the evil consequences are unfailing on the race generally.”

We must here advert in a few words to the “extinction of the nature-peoples” in so far as civilization and missions are placed in causal relation to it. From the deductions hitherto made, it follows that such a relation cannot be absolutely denied. Altogether apart from the system of murder and robbery which has been applied to most of the nature-peoples by the selfish representatives of our civilization, and which alone accounts in great measure for the decrease of their numbers—it cannot be denied that, even in the more or less immediate conveyance and appropriation of civilization in itself, there is an element of

physical and psychical weakening, which, in combination with many other, and, indeed, worse factors, is not altogether without a share in the tragic fate of the races in question. Only, as the thoughtful and thorough investigations of Gerland, and the later ones of Mallery, chiefly with reference to the North American Indians, show by facts, the asserted extinction does not take place by any means to the extent that had hitherto been assumed on the ground of unreliable and thoughtlessly accepted estimates. Therefore the matter stands not so, that contact with our culture in itself, when other abnormal relations do not exist, produces straightway the extinction of a race, or that the axiom hitherto accepted that the peoples in question decay before the breath of culture, merely from defective life-power, because they are destined by nature to destruction, should be universally acknowledged as a scientifically attained standpoint. "Had the approach of culture"—so Gerland sums up his investigation on the subject—"been carried out peacefully, even though hastily, there would have ensued among them, as among the old Germans, a period of standing still, but then a vigorous life would have bloomed forth." Therefore, on the assumption of normal conditions, we can properly assert only this much: that the sudden transference of our culture to uncivilized peoples results in its first stage in a cessation of increase, or even in a slight decrease of the population. In the causation of this phenomenon the mission bears a part, not, indeed, in so far as it is a work of evangelisation, but in so far as the introduction of a certain measure of Christian Western civilization cannot be absolutely separated from it. We very decidedly desire a greater measure of educative wisdom and patience in the introduction of

this culture than has actually existed in many mission fields. But even although the missionaries, in their zeal for culture, have now and again forgotten that *natura non facit saltus*, yet the objection does not apply properly to the mission, but only to the mode of its procedure. But in any case we should perpetrate a folly, yea, we should demand an impossibility, were we, in order to avoid the acknowledged evil, to impose upon the mission the attempt to refrain from every direct or indirect effort at civilization. Apart from the consideration that these efforts would be put forth by other culture-factors, and, indeed, in a far less educative fashion, the mission could not, by reason of the inseparable connection which subsists between Christianity and our modern civilization, thus suspend her civilizing influence. The eventual diminution of the population is thus an evil inseparable from our cultural superiority, which must necessarily be taken into account, as depending on the nature of things. When, however, the *Ausland* brings the charge against the missionaries that "in the anthropological history of the globe they play the leading part as race-murderers," it only shows thereby that its hatred of Christianity has robbed it of the capability of objectively estimating insuperable difficulties, so as to have made it altogether blind to the fact that the real murderers of the nations that are dying out are to be sought among the non-missionary representatives of our civilization. As we have sufficiently shown by testimonies already given, the peoples in question are indebted to the missionaries, not for their annihilation, but for their preservation.

It is by no means by the enemies of missions chiefly that the proposal has been made to suspend missionary action entirely among the so-called out-dying races, because

it only hastens their extinction, and does not produce any fruit for the future—a proposal quite to the taste of the *Ausland*, which, in a rare fit of tender philanthropy, “will not have the last hours of these doomed races tormented by the infliction of a useless education, by the tortures of a dull school-house,” while it has no word of indignation for the already described chain-driving of the natives of Van Dieman’s Land! Suppose the fact of the dying-out were as the advocates of this theory assume, should the mission withhold the comfort of the Gospel from the dying? After a selfish civilization has so fearfully trifled with the existence, the bodily and moral health of these peoples, is it not a certain amends, and therefore a small comfort, that at least in their dying hour the mission has brought within their reach the salvation that is in Christ? Suppose, when the dying-out process is in operation, it were hastened by the mission—would the short period for which the bodily life might possibly be prolonged, be a sufficient equivalent for the deprivation of the eternal life which is offered in the Gospel? He who can answer this question in the affirmative is altogether incapable of understanding the mission; for the mission-command and obedience to it have this for their foundation, that Christ and His salvation are the treasure above all treasures.

But the fact is by no means so that the dying-out is hastened, or is first introduced by the mission. Every careful investigation, such as have been instituted by Meinicke, Waitz, and especially Gerland, has furnished proof that wherever a rapid diminution of population has taken place, entirely different factors must be held answerable for it. Where, on the other hand, the old heathen crimes have not already produced a sort of incurable consumption,

and the murderous influences of European selfishness have given place to a fair treatment of the natives, then the process of extinction either does not go on at the same rate, or it is stopped, or there begins gradually to be an excess in the birth-rate over the death-rate—as soon as Christianity has in some measure taken root, and the transition period is past. As Gerland has already called attention to this fact, so it is confirmed by multitudes of the most recent reports of the missionaries. The statistical material available is not sufficiently extensive, and for numbers depending upon mere estimates for the earlier periods, is not sufficiently authentic, to warrant extensive conclusions. Who knows if, instead of rough convicts, sailors, selfish traders and colonists, the messengers of the Gospel had come first to the peoples in question, and without injurious associates, whether the evil would not have been avoided, or at least have been checked at the outset, or materially lessened? The physician may be called to a sick man too late, and who in that case would hold him responsible for the death of the patient? No doubt the physician also may make a mistake in his treatment; and we think that our representation should save us from the reproach of representing the missionaries as infallible. But unsupported charges, originating in mere blind hatred against the mission, we cannot leave unnoticed.

Thus the bodily injury which the mission produces among the dying-out nature-peoples is reduced by calm examination of matters of fact to a very small amount, is really limited to the period of transition from heathen to Christian usages, and must, even for that period, be regarded as an evil inevitable in consequence of our cultural superiority, but which is compensated more than a hundred-

fold by the temporal blessings and sanitary advantages which the mission brings in its train. The result is not so favourable with respect to the endangering of mental originality and independence. In spite of the many encouraging experiences in the case of a whole host of specially-gifted individuals, in the case of the great masses, the impression remains of undigested knowledge, unnatural imitation, and childish precocity—disadvantages which, we fear, will operate long after the transition period.

In our modern missionary action, we cannot avoid either the introduction of the school, or that of literature. The close connection in which not only our culture, but our Christianity, stands with both, almost compels us to their introduction, whether we will or not. Our mission-method would be unnatural were we to separate what has grown together through a thousand years' development, and what also in principle has a common belonging. Therefore, we cannot much wonder at the occasional defect of that educational wisdom and patience which neutralises as much as possible the dangers necessarily connected with the introduction of a new epoch of intelligence, by bringing itself down to the standpoint of the people, dealing for a long time only with elementary subjects, advancing slowly, and laying no burden upon them till they have strength and maturity to bear it. It is too natural that one should see in the circumstances of home the model after which he strives to fashion the foreigners, and so quite involuntarily he falls into *equalising*, and in this effort overlooks the differences of the varying standpoints, and upsets himself in the not always ambitious, but often purely unselfish, desire to produce even visible results. Finally, we must not forget that the missionaries are entitled to be judged under

a plea of extenuating circumstances, if they are unaware, as is, in fact, the case of many, of the danger to which the natives are exposed through the immediate application of our system of education to them. Even among ourselves, and indeed in the most intelligent and influential circles, the number is very great of those who have no perception of this, that the overloading of the popular school with scientific stuff is a sin against the sound education of the people. Still, there is often a *bona fide* mistake on the part of the mission. No doubt the missionary supposes that he is doing a good work when he "schoolmasters" an old woman, who has received baptism, for months like the young catechumens, and tortures her not only with the catechism, but also with the alphabet, because his heart is not large enough, and his view not wide enough, to act under *toto cælo* different circumstances otherwise than in accordance with the views that prevail at home. No doubt the missionary has the best intentions when he instructs old and young without distinction, and is very indignant because the baptized converts (and perhaps even the heathen) are not immediately enthusiastic in sending their children to school, forgetting how long it was at home before elementary instruction and school attendance, rendered compulsory by legislation, became universal among us. No doubt the missionary means nothing but the good of the natives when, in the newly-founded schools, he deals not merely with the simplest elements, but after a short time introduces civil and ecclesiastical history, geography, natural science, even mathematics, physics, foreign languages, &c., while he stands under the ban of the prejudice which he has brought with him from home, that the more is the knowledge, the higher is the intelligence ;

and while he is not pedagogue enough to say to himself that the heights of intelligence are reached, not by flight, but by slow climbing, and that for different men, different positions, and different standpoints, there are different grades of education. No doubt the missionary aims at what is in his eyes the noblest object, when as soon as possible he puts the translated Bible into the hands of natives formerly unable to read, and writes book upon book in order to create a literature in the language of the people, because he is of opinion that what his countrymen at home possess, the objects of his missionary care cannot obtain too soon, forgetting that a people hitherto without any literature neither can nor ought to become a literary people off-hand.

In all these cases there is *bona fide* action in imitation of the conditions which have been developed at home, and in this action lies the plea, subjectively, of extenuating circumstances. But, objectively, the fault has been committed nevertheless. Upon only one of the mischiefs just adverted to—viz., the multiplicity of languages which prevails in many mission-fields, and has been introduced into not a few mission-schools—a few remarks may be permitted. It needs no proof that a people which exchanges its mother-tongue in whole or in part for a foreign language, thereby abandons a very essential part of its national peculiarity, its original self. Now, it cannot be charged upon the evangelical mission that it originates this change of language. On the contrary, it is in general very earnest that every people should retain and improve its own language. The opposite practice is only exceptional, and is almost unanimously condemned by the directors, when, perhaps, for the sake of ease, here and there English or American

missionaries, instead of themselves learning the language of the people, encourage the natives to adopt a corrupted English. Only one case is known to us in which there has been on principle a renunciation of the language of the country, and the English has been introduced as the language of instruction and intercourse. We refer to the method of Dr. Duff, who was of opinion that English will be in time the language of the people in India, and that without the general spread of this language, European intelligence cannot become really prevalent there. Notwithstanding the important extraneous results which the Duff system has undeniably provided, the opinions among competent mission-labourers as to its value for the Christianising, and even for the civilizing, of India, are still very much divided.* But apart from this special Duff-system in India, which is hitherto limited to the higher schools, and from the unintentional exceptions already alluded to, the modern mission, without any fault of its own, but in consequence of the colonial relations and the commercial intercourse of the present day, in most of its fields of labour, stands face to face with a multiplicity of languages, which it is compelled by the circumstances to take into account. The natives, who have to do either with the officials of colonial governments or with foreign merchants, must to a certain extent adopt these languages, and thus they garble English, Dutch, or Malay, French, Spanish, or Portuguese, or even at the same time learn to express themselves in more than one of these languages. In the Cape Colony, for example, they must torture themselves with Dutch and English; in the Sunda Islands, at least some of them, with Malay and Dutch; in India, with

* See Translator's Introduction.

Hindi and English, &c. The speech-caricatures which are thus produced have also their tragic side. The often astonishingly corrupted English, which, for example, the negroes speak,¹⁷ or the deformed Dutch of the Hot-tentots, which, in its turn, has corrupted the language of the Boers, or the Hindi which the Koles must learn, works in the mass with the effect of depriving them of character and nationality, as it presses back the mother-tongues. Thus, for example, the English-garbling negroes think themselves to be English gentlemen, and in their vanity cut a figure which is often as ridiculous as it is lamentable.¹⁸

Into this confusion of tongues the mission is now pitched, and it must be confessed that no easy task thereby falls to its lot. In the wholly well-intentioned effort to render a service to the natives by facilitating their intercourse with the foreigners, or to make the literature of a foreign language accessible to them, it often teaches in its schools one or even two of these foreign languages. However comprehensible, however excusable, however under the circumstances even necessary this is, it is still an evil, which is not favourable either to the rooting of Christianity among the people, or to a sound education. Let us suppose that, in our home-schools for the people, one or even two foreign languages were taught and spoken, what a confusion would this produce in the children's heads, and how unsolid would it make the whole of the teaching! What necessity exists for the teaching and speaking of High-German in the schools in the Low-German-speaking districts? But how much greater must the mischief be which is occasioned by the multiplicity of languages among a people which is still in the initiatory stage of its school-development! Moreover,

with respect to the work of Christianisation, the experiences of the mission are by no means satisfactory. Thus, for example, among the Indians, as well as in Syria, the hopes which the agents of the American Board attached to the learning of the English language were completely disappointed. "With some interesting exceptions, it has turned out that those redskins who acquired the best knowledge of English have generally been the farthest from the acceptance of the Gospel, and have showed the least readiness to make use of the means of grace. They saw themselves elevated above the mass of their countrymen, they became vain, and their foolish heart was darkened." Similar was the experience in Syria. There the Board founded, in the year 1835, the High School of Beyrout, and introduced English as the language of instruction. For seven years they persevered in this method, until it was manifest that the pupils were only being denationalised by it. In 1842 the school was abandoned, and a new one established in the Lebanon, with Arabic as the language of instruction. The advantage was soon visible. In West Africa, in Netherlands India, and in English India, the foreign language which the natives have learned in the mission-schools has often enough become the occasion of their turning their backs upon Christianity for the sake of external advantages, and of their being lost for co-operation with the missionaries, without any real advantage otherwise accruing. While every English-speaking native considers himself fit for, and entitled to, an office in the Government service, even high English officials have dissuaded English education in the mission-schools, as has been already noticed. Under another point of view, the premature introduction of the ancient languages into the institutions for edu-

cating native assistants fails—to which attention has been already called.

The apostles found themselves in a much more favourable position in this respect, as compared with the modern mission. Their field of labour lay, apart from the Jews, really within the compass of the territory of the Greek language. Though Greek was not the mother-tongue of a great part of the population of that territory, yet it was, so to speak, thoroughly acclimatised by a process of assimilation which had been going on for several centuries, so that even under the political sovereignty of the Romans, the Latin was not able to drive it from its dominion. We doubt whether the English has the same providential destiny to be the world-language of the present and the future, which the Greek undoubtedly had to be that of its time. Apart from all other reasons of doubt, there are now too many culture-peoples in rivalry with England, which are equally occupied in the great world-mart, and whose languages are at least as good as the English, and in some respects better, to give to the latter a probable prospect of a victory which should lead to sole supremacy. At all events, we are still far from this issue, and the difficulties resulting to the modern mission from the multiplicity of language, which have been but faintly sketched in the foregoing remarks, will rather increase than diminish for the future. Wherever the representatives of the modern culture come, they not only claim the land and the people for their interest, but also stimulate them to adopt their language. They comport themselves as the lords of the still uncivilized world, and regard it as self-evident that this world is subject to them, and therefore that it is in point of fact adopting their language—a fact which the mission is almost powerless to counteract.

In the apostolic age, as is well known, a keen battle was fought on the question whether the heathens must first become Jews before they could find admission into the Christian Church, or whether the acceptance of the Jewish ceremonial law might be dispensed with in their case. *Mutatis mutandis*, we are fighting an analogous battle in the mission of to-day. Assuredly we do not mean, in the sense so dear to the "free" theology, that for the purpose of justifying faith the same indifference must be claimed for the historical facts of the Gospel that the great "Apostle of the Gentiles" ascribed to the Jewish ceremonial law. Such a contention, even when it is conducted *bona fide*, aims, really not at a reformation or a refinement, but at a dissolution of Christianity, as is sufficiently indicated even by Von Hartmann; and it can be a matter of no doubt that in this the "free" Protestants have not Paul on their side. Nor have we in our eye, in the parallel referred to, the difficulty for the mission of to-day which lies in this, that its labourers bring with them a complete doctrinal conception, which has gradually assumed a form, which indisputably has not been uninfluenced by the whole culture-life of the Christian West, and especially by its philosophic development. From the most orthodox standpoint it cannot be denied that our cut-and-dry doctrinal forms, our doctrinal terminology, is a hindrance to the missionary, which often, without his being aware of it, stands in the way of the intelligibility of his preaching and its entrance among the heathen. A missionary must work out for himself a certain freedom from this doctrinal form, and must proclaim among the heathen the great works of God, with as much as possible of Biblical simplicity, and as little dogmatically as possible; and in this respect there

is a propriety, with all decided holding fast of the positive standpoint, in speaking of a conflict between dogmatic narrowness and evangelical breadth.

But even this point of view, great as is its importance in missionary practice, and however it may be regarded as closely connected with our subject, is still not that on which we are to insist. Our higher culture constitutes a difficulty for the modern mission, quite similar to that which the Jewish ritual system did for the apostolic. In consequence of their Jewish education and views, this ritual system was most closely connected in the minds of the Jewish-Christian apostles with religion itself, even with their faith in Christ. Christ was to them the Messiah promised by the prophets, no doubt as the Saviour of the world, but as the King of Israel, the reformer and sanctioner of the Jewish religious system in its traditional entirety. Israel was still to them the chosen people, the centre even of the kingdom of God instituted by Christ; and the heathen were only to be incorporated into it. To Christianise and to Judaize were therefore regarded by them as different terms to express the same missionary work. In quite a similar way we now identify Christianising and civilizing, if not even Christianising and Anglicising, Germanising, &c.; as the latter occurred in the mediæval mission. Our higher civilization is a continual temptation to us to alter the concept of religion. "From our earliest youth"—writes Dr. Anderson, the aged and experienced director of the American Board—"our idea of the Christian religion is identified with education, social order, and a certain correctness of morals and manners, which we regard as alone right; in short, with our civilization. It is among us all quite undeniable that the civilization of

centuries forms a great part of the manifestations of our piety ; and we seldom consider how our personal religion would appear to a casual observer, were we wholly deprived of the culture which we possess in common with the world around us." How natural it is, then, that the missionary should connect, with the acceptance of the Gospel which he preaches, certain of our customs, which yet do not belong to the essence of Christianity; that he should thereby alter the purity and simplicity of the Gospel, and, without knowing or wishing it, should make conversion to Christianity more difficult to the heathen, who stand so far apart from our conceptions of civilization. How often is it that not disaffection to Christianity as such, but disaffection to culture-demands of civilization which we identify with it, forms the ground of the non-acceptance of the Gospel !

We urge most expressly the plea of extenuating circumstances with reference to the behaviour of our missionaries in this extremely difficult position, as we are very far from casting reproaches upon the Jewish-Christian apostles on account of their Judaising method of missions. The saying is applicable, "To comprehend is to forgive." But what a misfortune it would have been, and how would the development of Christianity into the religion of the world have been delayed, if not prevented, had not the Apostle of the Gentiles triumphantly beaten these Judaising mission-methods off the field ! And just so we must recognise the identification of Christianisation and civilization as an evil for the mission of the present day, whose avoidance is as earnestly to be contended for in the interest of the work of evangelisation as in that of a sound cultural development. Not much is gained in this matter by theoretical distinctions. We need among the missionaries

men of the originality and large-heartedness of a Paul, who, with their personal life of faith firmly rooted in the central truths of the Gospel, shall know to distinguish with Christian tact the essence of Christianity from those adjuncts which have grown with it among us through our cultural development, but yet are not essential to it, and who shall understand to strike out original ways among people and circumstances entirely different from us and ours; men who, as Paul was to the Jews a Jew, and to the Greeks a Greek, shall accommodate themselves to national customs and usages, which may not be wrong, although different from ours; who shall, childlike, condescend to childish peoples, in order to train them gradually to youths' and man's estate.

We are well aware that we are assigning a great task, which will always be but imperfectly accomplished by the best intentions and the most original endowments of the missionaries. Our modern culture is quite another power than the Jewish religious ceremonial was in its day. Our culture rushes like a stream which bears down all obstructions. It may be called a fatality under which the modern mission stands—yea, which it follows, whether it will or not. The blinder the cultural zeal, so much the greater the fatality. From the representatives of material interests there is not much to be expected. Even the pertinent counsels given by so thoughtful a man as Hubbe-Schleiden, we have not much prospect of seeing realised, excepting in so far as interest coincides with them. But this interest among the representatives of the material interests—with the exception of a few ideally intelligent men—is always one-sided, for it has really only its own advantage, and not that of the natives, in its eye. The task of cultural

education, on the other hand, can only be accomplished when the interest of the natives is also aimed at, and they are regarded as men to be saved, and not only as means of enriching ourselves. More is to be hoped from a sound colonial policy, whose interest, rightly understood, coincides with that of the natives. But suppose that this possesses also the necessary practical wisdom—an assumption which is by no means realised by every colonial government—still it is very questionable whether there exists in it that measure of self-denial and patience without which educational tasks cannot be accomplished. Thus we have to seek for the special cultural education pre-eminently in the mission.

It is therefore a twofold cultural contest which the mission has to maintain—a struggle against the heathenish unculture, and a struggle against the Christian overculture—and we suspect that the latter is the more difficult. The seven-leagued-booted strides, so far as, according to experience, they bear in them the seeds of death, are very destructive, and it requires both wisdom, self-denial, patience, and courage, to put bit and bridle upon them. But the mission labourers should have this courage. In the midst of a culture-intoxicated generation, they should be, in the full Bible sense of the term, sober men, who, by thoughtfulness and moderation in the field of labour assigned them among the heathen, shall represent a sound, natural, and gradual progress.

Only in such a progress of growth lies the guarantee, for the non-Christian peoples of the present day, of a cultural development rich in blessings for them. If the culture-peoples of the West are in earnest for their civilization—if they would be not only the possessors of their lands and

the spoilers of their strength, but their benefactors—if they would deal with them as equal-born human beings, who in the great business of the world serve one another more and more, each one with the gifts he has received—they must, in the interest of culture, lend as much aid as possible to the mission. The mission is not only, as we have shown in the first part of our enquiry, the founder of a new cultural spirit ; it falls to its lot also, as the deduction which we have now conducted has sought to prove, to have the chief share, in opposition to our eminent cultural superiority, in the solution of the problem of cultural education. As the mission thankfully acknowledges every aid which is afforded to its evangelising work by the modern culture and its representatives, and, so long as positive hostility does not prevent it, seeks to conduct its work as much as possible in concert with it, so ought it surely to be on the other side. Apart altogether from the abundant cultural pioneer services which the mission renders to colonial policy, secular traffic and science, even the most zealous representatives of civilization cannot deny that the effects wrought on the non-Christian peoples by the contact of our civilization often require to be atoned for, or at least to be neutralised, and always to be completed, by a religious-moral force. This force we possess in the Christian mission.

The author of *Ethiopia*, in the chapter on “The Ideal and the Material Advantages,” laments that in Equatorial Africa “explorers and missionaries on the one side, and merchants on the other, have each gone in their own way. The former have often seen in their trading brethren enemies rather than their supporters ; and, in fact, it is not the Mohammedan traders alone that have contributed

to the ruin of the land and its inhabitants. But, in the same way, we commonly find among the merchants a certain depreciation of these ideal efforts; . . . and yet both the merchant and the scholar are striving for the same object—the opening-up of Africa. Why will they not unite for its attainment? Their interests supplement and work into one another, so that the ideal and the real objects are in this case quite inseparable.”¹⁹ We leave the rightness or the wrongness of the one-sided procedure imputed to the missionaries to stand on its own merits, and only appropriate to ourselves the expressed wish for the associate action of merchants and scholars, while we extend it generally to the mutual relations of culture and missions and their respective representatives. What a blessing would result for the Christian and the non-Christian world were the idealistic dream brought into realisation, that culture and missions should inscribe upon their banner the motto—

VIRIBUS UNITIS!

NOTES.

NOTES TO PART I.

Note 1, p. 2.—Leading article of the *National Zeitung* of 1st July 1877.

“What is the precise object of the gigantic strife which the German empire has taken upon its young shoulders, to wage in the name, and for the benefit, of mankind? Is it only the two conceptions of the May laws—conceptions which have long been in vogue elsewhere without any contest? Neither of these would have caused so keen excitement. From the outset we have to do with the question of principle, whether the Church, with its claim to be a superhuman divine institution, the bearer of immediate revelation and infallible truth, has the right to rule without restriction over the thought and the life of mankind, or whether it rather belongs to human society to order its life and its thought according to autonomic laws of its reason and its conscience.”

Since then it has been thought good to continue the contest with a less open visor, and here and there better views have been expressed. The following plain statement meets us in E. V. Hartmann's *Self-Destruction of Christianity, and the Religion of the Future* (Berlin, 1874). “Christianity,” it is said, p. 17, “is not only in opposition to science, but to culture in every sense.” “That the present struggle between State and Church bears on both sides the character of a war of extermination no one can doubt, who can distinguish the unconscious tendencies of history from the objects which are temporarily and consciously professed. . . . The deepest sense of this warfare is the decisive question whether in the judgment of the men of to-day, the future or the present, the heavenly or the secular, has the precedence, whether the Christian interest or the cultural interest preponderates” (p. 32). “Many write and speak of the present culture-strife; but only a few of them have made it clear to themselves that it is the last desperate struggle of the Christian idea before its disappearance from the stage of history; against which the modern culture has to summon forth its utmost strength, for life or death, in defence of its great acquisitions” (p. 33). The well-known “philosopher of the Unknown” makes very easy work for himself in the pamphlet referred to. With the elegance of diction and the fallaciousness of argument which he has at command, he constructs for himself a caricature of Christianity, which he, in accordance with the well-known proverb that only the stupid are modest, imposes upon his credulous readers as the only correct representation of the Christian idea. When reading this book, as well as that of Von Hellwald—which should be mentioned along with it, although it is indeed far more profound—we cannot get rid of the impression that even for admired philosophers it is too hard a task to write of matters for which they lack the inward understanding. People

should not set themselves so much on the high horse against the dogmatic confusion of the orthodox; it will occur to us that that of the non-orthodox is at all events not less.

Note 2, p. 5.—*A Missionary Discourse in Westminster Abbey, 3rd Dec, 1872.*—"Among the various classifications which have been attempted to be made of the religions of mankind, there is one which must be of peculiar interest to us to-night, viz., the division of them into *converting* and *non-converting*. This classification is not founded altogether upon a merely external or unessential distinction. On the contrary, it proceeds upon the most essential feature of the religious life. . . . Let us now look again at the religions in which the true missionary spirit is working, and then at those by which every attempt at conversion, indeed every open confession of the truth, is treated with pity or contempt—what do we see? The former are living, the latter are dead."

Note 3, p. 6.—It is in the highest degree characteristic that Fr. v. Hellwald in his *Culture-history in its Natural Development to the Present Day*, a book of 800 pages, although he poses in the most pretentious manner as advocate-general of the "mighty science," gives not a vestige of definition of the term *Culture*.

Note 4, p. 11.—Martensen, *The Christian Ethic*.—"Unless the worldly morality be regarded as a mere means, as a teleologic movement towards a higher object—the object which alone is in itself absolute—it must remain altogether unsubstantial and unintelligible. Assuredly if the light of religion were extinguished, it is inconceivable why and how a moral life should be led under all these finite and temporary relations. It is only the religious morality that casts light upon the worldly, and imparts to it a real importance and necessity." The social democrats who excel in clear-sightedness, and in a certain way even in honesty, the liberalism which sports with fire, see this right well, and express it in their own way quite freely. So for example the *Volkstaat* in the well-known sentence:—"One of two things. Either there is no God, and then we can change the old laws as much as we please; or there is a God, and then we should be altogether bird-limed. But fortunately no one has hitherto been able to prove the existence of God; therefore we must assume that the *moral* and the *right* as made by men, may be changed by us as our need requires. And thus the so-called eternal first principles remain in force only so long as we find them convenient."

Note 5, p. 12.—Delf, *Culture and Religion; The Development of the Human Consciousness, Historically and Philosophically Treated* (Gotha, 1875).—An important, but, we suspect, a little-known book. Although we do not by any means agree wholly with the author, and do not share either his religious or his philosophic standpoint, yet we cannot with sufficient earnestness recommend it to our readers. It is altogether no light ware which the book presents, and the author is a sort of free-lance who goes his own way, undisturbed amidst the fashionable views of the day and the watchwords of parties, and strikes out right and left with his keen weapon. But he is a man who is of the truth, and who, with the earnestness of true science, handles his great subject in a manner as luminous and thorough as it is impartial and real—a happy contrast to the frivolous and useless *Culture-history* of Herr v. Hellwald. The proof that religion and culture are reciprocal or congenue things, appears to us to be convincingly conducted in Delf's book, and with reference to all the religions of the world, although it may not be possible to agree altogether with some of the philosopher's arguments. It is no brilliant testimony in behalf of our age, which so prides itself on its scientific progress, that a book of this sort seems to be almost struck off from the catalogues of public litera-

ture, while a wretched composition like Von Hellwald's *Culture-history* has speedily reached a second edition.

Note 6, p. 14.—“Missions, and the missionary undertaking,” says Dr. Fabri, as moderately as pointedly, in his latest pamphlet, *Does Germany need Colonies?* “are, to the greater part of the public among us to this day, dark and doubtful concepts. A portion of our press, led on by the widely-circulated and influential *Gartenlaube*, are persistently earnest upon making all that is connected with the mission either ridiculous or contemptible, and that by means of attacks whose ignorance is only exceeded by their malevolence. This state of matters rests mainly upon two foundations. All missionary activity is rooted primarily in a positive religious bent. Whoever does not share this, whoever does not know the power and importance of the Gospel, whoever, like so many of our most-read periodicals, does homage to an outspoken materialist view of the world, to him this religious impulse to Christianise foreign nations is naturally incomprehensible, and every lively manifestation of it will be to him a stumbling-block and an offence. But anger and offence usually make men blind. Thus, from ignorance is evolved, in the course of nature, the inability to examine impartially, and estimate such a phenomenon as the fact of missions, even with respect only to their universal cultural importance. Even in England and North America, there are many people who, from their religious or irreligious standpoints, shrug their shoulders at the mission. But hardly any one there will deny a cultural importance to the mission, or its utility for the commercial enterprise or colonial annexations which follow in its wake; no paper of any respectability or repute would venture upon the attempt, in the spirit and tone of our *Gartenlaube*, to brand the mission facts as an affair of crazy enthusiasts or hypocritical pietists. Such an attempt would be met with general indignation. That it is otherwise in Germany is due only to the (alas!) widespread anti-religious current; but there come into the account certain factors which have their roots in the peculiarity of our whole national development. This in some degree excuses this unworthy demeanour. Our long-repressed political development in Germany; our persistently unsound amalgamation of Church and State, which, instead of leading to respect for every religious conviction, has commonly dragged down religion itself into the tumults of political partisanship; our general gross ignorance of foreign and colonial matters; the insignificance of the matters with which we have been occupied for centuries, and which still re-echoes all through our political and ecclesiastical party-life; these in some measure form excuses for the lack in wide circles of the ability to apprehend, even in respect of its cultural importance, an international genuine Christian work, such as the mission presents to us. Yet even in this direction there seems to be preparation making for some advance. Thus recently the *Kölnische Zeitung* (Cologne Gazette), in a series of leading articles on the “extension of England” in South Africa (June, 1877), briefly and forcibly characterises, and warmly acknowledges, the cultural importance of the mission, and its service to linguistic, geographical, and anthropological research. In the course of its advocacy of the English annexations in South Africa, it took occasion to point out that the easy and inexpensive annexation of that extended territory on the west and east coasts of South Africa was essentially due to the pioneer-work carried on for thirty years by German missionary societies, and that the British Colonial Office was in a position to turn to its own account the capital and labour contributed from Germany. There are many other friendly notes sounding in our press in later days along with those of malice. Would that this friendship might become more general under the influence of impartial and intelligent apprehension of the mission work and its importance!”

Note 7, p. 18.—Delff, op. cit. in his first chapter, “Belief and Knowledge,”

adduces convincing proof of this. "In all knowledge there is something which is not wholly or mainly governed by reflection, but by conditions belonging to personality; and this something is precisely that which defines the peculiar direction of our thoughts. Were all that is in knowledge conditioned certainly and exclusively by reflection and intelligent grounds, it would be possible to convince any one of his errors, and to win him to the more correct view (at least to a certain extent, corresponding to his intellectual ability). If we had only 'heads' to deal with, there would be no occasion to correct the 'many thoughts' which go apart in diverging directions" (p. 3). "There are certain things in the scientific composition of a man which belong quite distinctly to the category of moral convictions, which afterwards so attach themselves to logical convictions, that these latter are dependent upon them and their sources" (p. 4). "Ideas, concepts, decisions, conclusions—all that in reflection belongs to the conditioned consciousness—is mediately the product of the mind, induced by an assumption and reduced to an objectivation. It rests essentially on a relation to the objects, in which only the outside of them is operative—their appearance to the senses, as it is said—and is abstracted from this appearance, and transferred into the objective view of the mind. In this mediate action, which is restricted to what is outward, there operates an immediate reference which does not go forth from the sphere of the man, from his understanding and senses, to the sphere of the objects, but will immediately grasp the whole nature of the object in the separate appearances, and will represent it in itself; and which proceeds from the inner central and total power of the man, from his nature, and is the peculiar action of that nature. This immediate reference or action is always principally concerned in that mediate, and is the foundation of it. We call it *belief*, whereby every defined thought, as, for example, the religious thought, is modified" (p. 5, ff.)

Note 8, p. 20.—*Rhenish Westphalian Post*, 12th March 1877. We subjoin the article as characteristic. On the 5th of March, Dr. Brehm of Berlin gave a lecture in the Town Hall, on the popular and family life of the Ostiaks, a tribe of people in Siberia. The close of it was as follows: "As we become familiar with many things, so we acquire a liking for the Ostiaks. They are men with the minds of children, and we must cherish the wish for them, that they may long remain heathen, so as not to lose their good qualities."

Outbreaks of hatred against Christianity are with Dr. Brehm nothing new, and the words quoted indicate what is his sentiment regarding the mission. But it will naturally be asked what sort of qualities they are, for the sake of which the wish must be cherished that Ostiaks may long continue to be heathen. A few passages from Brehm's lecture will make this clear. The lecturer is describing the beastly gluttony of the people. "The Ostiak is going in for 'a good time.' He chooses a goodly stag and throws over it the unerring lasso—a blow on the head with a hatchet stuns the creature, and a knife thrust into its heart puts an end to its life. With great cleverness the stag is flayed, and the spleen and liver are taken out. That is the most relished tit-bit. All bloody it is swallowed; the faces and hands of the eaters are besmeared with blood; the whole family, down to the smallest of earth's citizens, partake of the tit-bit, and even it gets a bloody visage. But the greatest delight of the child is when it gets a marrow bone, and sucks it just as our forefathers did. The bloody feast is done. The house-mother cuts the remainder into pieces and cooks them. The Ostiak returns into the tent. Satiated as he is, he longs after additional enjoyment. He casts off his fur jacket, and seats himself half-naked before the fire. The vilest tobacco is to him an endless enjoyment. The smoke of a pipe made in the simplest way from a piece of paper brings in the house-mother, and soon the whole family are smoking. Meantime the meat is again and again resorted to. The wife sets up the fly-tent and makes the bed. The herds-

man plays yet a while with the dog and the child promiscuously, and then creeps under the fly-tent. The youngest child is lifted after him, the fourteen-year-old son follows with his wife; then comes the house-mother, and soon the whole family lies in deep sleep. Next morning the same life begins, and so it goes on every day."

There is also a description of the fisherman's feast. "The fish are unscaled, cut up, the livers taken out, and the entrails removed. The livers are swallowed, the whole members of the family take part in the feast, and soon present an appearance similar to that presented by the family of the herdsman after the bloody feast; with this difference, that in this case the colouring is brought out with train oil. If the hunger is not yet appeased, a raw fish is cut up and eaten with salt. After the bustle is over, quietness prevails for some time, and the occupation which may be seen then is well fitted to confirm Darwin's system in the matter of atavism. Towards noon the stomach craves for something warm. A fish-soup is prepared of the most exquisite kind—only not exquisite for a European stomach. Two or three Ostiaks consume a quantity of it that would suffice for twelve or fifteen Europeans. Then matters go on in the fisherman's tent precisely as in that of the reindeer-herdsman."

The Ostiak goes to Obdorsk, where an annual market is held. Here there is trafficking and bartering; the Ostiak is shaven by the priest, contracts are entered into, and taxes are levied. This annual market is a universal festival for the people. Around the market-place are arranged a circle of tents. Every morning the Ostiak, laden with hides and accompanied by his loving wife, goes into the city; every evening he returns without hides, without money, with a disordered head. Brandy turns him into a wild beast. All drink brandy. The Ostiak sells all for brandy—himself, his faith, his soul. Brandy is his evil demon. His first hides he sells at a high price, the last he gives away for a glass of brandy. He returns home in poverty, he makes the best resolutions, he swears never to taste brandy more. But soon this experience loses its effect, and he thinks only on the pleasure which he has enjoyed in Obdorsk. That all his property is gone is indeed sad, that he had to go to prison was not too pleasant; meantime he is again free. There will be more hides, and he resolves in any case to go back to Obdorsk next year.

The Ostiak has several wives, but only one tent. The first wife is the mistress, the others are slaves. If a second wife is childless she is the most miserable creature in the world, and is subjected to the most terrible maltreatment by the first wife.

We might almost doubt the sanity of the man who could see such things with his own eyes, and describe them, and then draw the conclusion stated above, did we not know to what a man may be brought by hatred of Christianity. And we cannot really wonder at it, since the purely materialistic view of the world, which brings men down to beasts, must regard such horrible things as the foregoing as quite admirable. The concepts of religion and morality must be abandoned. We regret that Dr. Brehm did not stay in Siberia with his child-minded favourites, so as to exempt our people from his immoral views. It is surprising that Brehm did not add to his wish this other—that the Germans might again become heathens!

Note 9, p. 20.—*Ausland*, 1877, p. 894, ff. In connection with a recommendation of the Japanese antichristian literature, "Bemmo" thus writes: "Along with the other blessings of Aryan Christian culture, small-pox, syphilis, oppressive taxation, steam-ships, railways, rifled cannon and fraudulent bankruptcy, the Americans and British are specially anxious to introduce their Christianity among the Japanese."

Note 10, p. 21.—*Ellinwood, the Great Conquest* (New York, 1876), p. 155.

"A foreign traveller who visited New York, could have but a very imperfect conception of its religious life, if he had not some sympathy and some intercourse with the Christians in it. A deputy of the Scottish General Assembly would have collected a great mass of facts in a few weeks, while a London sportsman who spent a year in the New York club-houses, or an infidel German who lived in hotels, would be able to say but little about it. He would repeat the cut-and-dry censures of the circle with which he fraternised, and would report in general terms that the religious life of the country is a pure deception, that the clergy are a band of ragamuffins, and the church members a flock of hypocrites!"

NOTES TO PART II.

Note 1, p. 33.—*Culture-History*, p. 435: "Still it must be fairly admitted that notwithstanding this"—that is, notwithstanding its subsequent degeneracy in the warmer climates!—"Christianity, even among the ancients, matured views, which, according to modern conceptions, are usually called higher views, as, for example, with reference to abortion, child-murder, the exposure of children, suicide.—Finally, it contributed to the suppression of gladiatorial shows, awakened an opposition to capital punishment (? Rom. xiii. 4), and an extended taste for beneficence which was wholly unknown to classical antiquity. Altogether, *humanity* is the almost exclusive acquisition of the Christian epochs."

Note 2, p. 34.—p. 554: "The Christianising of Europe, however rude it may appear, was the indispensable foundation of the cultural development of the present day." And still more distinctly, pp. 436 and 438: "If we examine the effects of Christianity among the northern barbarians, where mainly it meets us, a beneficent, ennobling influence is unmistakable. . . . The barbarians would probably have been morally ruined and physically deteriorated by advances towards the culture-lands of the South, had not Christianity given them a moral support. It could not well be otherwise than that, in the hands of the Germans, Christianity should assume ruder forms, corresponding to their spirit and their cultural level. . . . Still its efficacy remained sufficiently powerful to engraft some of the above ideas upon the rough Norlanders. Even the so-called darkest centuries bear many features of great and genuine nobility. They far excel the noblest times of the heathen civilizations in active benevolence, in sentiments of veneration and of loyalty; while in the humanity which shrinks from the infliction of pain, they were superior to the Roman civilization, as with respect to purity they were to the Greek. . . . Thus it cannot surprise us that the Christianity, which helped the northern tribes from deep barbarism to rise to the level of mediæval civilization, proved afterwards a hindrance to further development, and had to be again set aside. Therefore it is not proper to undervalue the importance of Christianity for this early period, or in any way to condemn it. What may be said of the Christianity of the 15th and 16th centuries has no application to that of the centuries from the 5th to the 10th. By means of it, which preserved these peoples physically and morally, the modern culture has become possible." In like manner, Von H. acknowledges the importance of the mediæval mission for agriculture. "A more favourable time for German land-cultivation first set in, in the South and South-West, with Christianity, as many convents and other religious institutions were located in places previously unknown. Through them many wastes were cleared and cultivated, through them many previously

unknown culture-plants were introduced into the country." When he further asserts: "The services of the convents in the preservation of the classical writings are certainly not to be estimated highly, since most of the treasures of antiquity have been preserved by the Byzantines and the Arabs"—he forgets that there are not only Greek but also Latin classics, and that for the preservation of the latter we are specially indebted to the monasteries.

Note 3, p. 35.—The often-quoted *Culture-History* of Von Hellwald, despite its enormous exaggerations as well as its superficialities, and its manifest mistakes and omissions, is not wanting in strange gleams of light, undeniable truths in the philosophy of history, traces of massive judgment and impartial sense of justice, which make it possible for us now and then positively to value the book. For example, when, with reference to the slow and comparatively imperfect mediæval culture, he expresses himself (p. 437) in manner following:—"Then this complaint (viz., that the mediæval Christianity kept the people for a thousand years in spiritual bondage) forgets that the German world had to make a beginning in culture, that there is no way of transferring culture to new peoples, and of sparing them the long, laborious way of labour. Even the culture-peoples of to-day are the heirs of the historically-buried nations which served them as schoolmasters in their childhood, the existing civilization had to be acquired through their own effort, as all knowledge can only be attained by study. The Middle Ages were the time of learning—that hardest work of the child—not of knowledge, for the German and New-Roman peoples; and it is altogether irrelevant, if not meaningless, to compare with it the blooming season of the Greek. That, as the highest culture-attainment of the ancients, must be compared with the modern; and this comparison is not altogether in favour of the classic Greek. But an incalculable period preceded the blooming season of the Greeks; we know not how long the Greeks required for their highest cultural attainment. And it is only this dark period that can be brought into comparison with the Middle Ages."

Note 4, p. 48.—A quite unexpected apology for the missionary, Baker, who is treated so slightly and scornfully by the *Gartenlaube*, is furnished by the Report of the German Government, presented to the *Reichstag* regarding the treaty of peace with Samoa. The testimony of this official document must have all the more powerful effect, even in the judgment of the readers of the *Gartenlaube*, since, according to the expression of the Bamberg *Reichstag*-commissioner, it "treats the subject of missions with humour"—an expression which is justified by a few lamentable passages—but it shows, at all events, that people who stand aloof from the mission have not discovered in it a vestige of partizan predilection for it.

While, according to the nonsensical statements of the *Gartenlaube*, the missionaries, under the pretext of the doctrine of Christ, are shamelessly undermining the temporal well-being of the natives, and the "avaricious priesthood have put in operation a system of extortion which cries to heaven," so that the natives are brought face to face with death by starvation, and the anonymous author has on several occasions seen the natives commit themselves to the waves in their rotten canoes, in order to escape from their clerical bondage—oh, it is affecting to read it!—the Report states:—

"Mr. Baker, the superintendent of the mission, has great merit in respect of the furtherance of the productiveness of the land, and the industry of the people. His eagerness to improve the land and the people, is indeed ascribed to the motive of increasing the voluntary church contributions. However this be, this effort must be advantageous to the country; and by means of the influence which Mr. Baker exerts over the king, much good has already accrued. For example, good, broad roads have been made in all the islands.

... Mr. Baker is at present occupied in introducing, on a large scale, the cultivation of cotton, coffee, and maize, after entering into a contract with the house of Godefroy as to the purchase of them. That house owes its success in part to the skill with which it knows how to adapt its operations to the circumstances. The Tongans generally give their commodities at somewhat lower prices, rather than have too much trouble with them. The house of Godefroy, therefore, adopts the method of taking the copra in an unmanufactured state, the cotton and the coffee uncleaned or unhusked. That celebrated house has further, through Mr. Baker's mediation, obtained a privilege on the islands of fishing for pearl-mussels. . . . Thus at present the interests of the mission, so far as these are represented by Mr. Baker, the most influential man in the country, and those of a great German mercantile house, are working together; and there is good hope of elevation of culture, and a considerable increase of products for exportation from those exceedingly fertile islands."

As to the starvation of the natives, which the *Gartenlaube* brings to light, there does not seem to be much fear of it. The anonymous author of the jealous article appears, in his blind zeal, to have little respected the laws of thought; since, if the greedy missionaries are oppressing the natives in a way that calls for the vengeance of heaven, so that they are impoverished, starved, and eagerly court death, they would be acting very stupidly in stopping the fountains of their own livelihood! But let that pass.

According to the statistical data of the official Report, the exports of the islands in question are steadily increasing; certainly copra, on which the missionaries seem to have imposed a tax for themselves, is produced and exported in ever-increasing quantity. The export of this article from the several island-groups by the German mercantile house amounted in 1876 to 3,905,000 marks, 1877 to 4,722,000, 1878 to 4,896,000 marks, and the total exports to 5,209,000; 6,103,000; 7,021,000 marks in these respective years. Of these exports the Tonga group alone contributed 920,000 marks in 1876 and 961,000 in 1877.

The Report repeatedly states that Tonga—where the terrible Baker is the most influential man—enjoys "an orderly domestic Government, which has succeeded in maintaining unbroken peace for many years."

"As I have already remarked," writes Captain von Schleinitz, "the Wesleyan mission possesses a great influence in the islands. Originally sent and supported from England, and afterwards from Sydney, it has been for some time practically self-sustaining, because it has contrived to furnish itself with unusual sources of income. The natives tax themselves, for the purposes of the mission, with a yearly tribute, which amounts to about ten marks per head of the people (according to the *Gartenlaube* it is forty-four marks), and in all to about the same as the whole of the state-taxes, that is, about 200,000 marks. The contribution is for the most part paid in natural products, and the Wesleyans are necessitated to sell these to European traders, excepting so many as they can themselves send to Australia with their mission-brig. The house of Godefroy has naturally been anxious to be as far as possible the only purchaser of these products, and has profited thereby."

Note 5, p. 50.*—An instructive glance at this relation is afforded by an interesting article in the *Evangelical Missionary Magazine* for 1857, p. 34, ff., entitled *The Interests of Trade and the Mission*. By the example of the Hudson's Bay Company, and by reference to important English sources, it is shown what an organised system of robbery the traders followed there by the presentation of rum, cheating the Indians out of all that they possessed, skins, furs, &c. Such traders might well say to the missionaries, We must treat you with as much jealousy and hostility as if you were a competing fur-trading company. If you succeed, we must fail. The company, by open-

* Reference omitted in text.

ing its territory to Christianity, has ruined its trade. In April, 1874, Mr. Steinberger, special agent of the U.S.A., submitted to the senate a report on the Samoa Islands, in which, amongst other things, he says: "The missionaries are, beyond all doubt, more important, and more efficient instruments in the civilization of that people, than all other causes put together. With the exception of a few, merchants are enemies of the missionaries. There are German and English merchants and brandy-dealers who regard the natives and their property as a common prey, and in the interests of merchandise often have recourse to moral corruption."

Note 6, p. 53.—It is a part of the *noblesse* with which many gentleman travellers conduct themselves towards the missionaries. When they visit their lonely stations, they are received with the most cordial hospitality. Not only is all desired information imparted to them, but, often at a sacrifice, the best that kitchen and cellar afford is set before them; and then those who have been so entertained express their thanks by denouncing, in conversation and in books, the missionaries as leading an idle and luxurious life.

Note 7, p. 54.—On this subject see *Les Missions Evangeliques au XIX^e Siècle*, 1877, and *Indian Evangelical Review*, 1877. Only one additional testimony—that of a French Catholic merchant:—"All things contribute to this—commerce works in concert with the extension of the Gospel. The religious work goes hand in hand with that whose object is lawful. Whether in the interest of heaven or of earth, the zeal is the same. From the ordained clergyman to the last workman in the factories and workshops, every one is lovingly and zealously active. This Christian life in the midst of forests and barbarous men affords an edifying spectacle. Here, for the first time, I almost forgot my fatherland, and was surprised to find myself envying, as an ideal of happiness, the peaceful and methodical life of these men, who live here without ambition, and have voluntarily shut themselves out from the old world."

Note 8, p. 59.—*Dying-out of the Nature Peoples*, pp. 131 and 138. In his "Anthropological Contributions," vol. i., pp. 3, 13, the same author says:—"That the mission is of the greatest importance, scientifically and practically, no impartial man will deny; for, scientifically, it has given and can give the most important, and often the only available, material for anthropology, because it alone stands in sufficiently continuous intercourse with the several peoples;—practically, because it intelligently brings our culture and morals within reach of these peoples; and what could thus be done, and also what could be done politically, it has distinctly shown—to take an example from our own times—in the South Seas. It is a natural question whether a state which has foreign possessions should not with all earnestness adopt the mission, regulate it, and support it with national funds—of course in the spirit of modern freedom, and otherwise than France has done in the Pacific, which has employed it to enslave and deprave the natives."

Note 9, p. 65.—"From our own observation we are convinced that the stations superintended by missionaries are the most successful," says the report of the Commission. "Therefore we recommend with the greatest urgency that all be brought under similar superintendence, and that the Government be authorised to commit the management of them to missionaries educated in Europe."

Note 10, p. 69.—In the Tenth Annual Report of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, p. 106, ff., the missionary Böhner writes as follows:—"Since I have been stationed in Abokobi, I have been much occupied with

the lands belonging to the station. From the manner in which the soil is treated by the natives, it is certain that the forest is being gradually changed into a barren waste, which will be a sad thing for the people. Besides, it was evident to me that we must use every effort to increase the revenue derived from the lands belonging to the mission, because they are the capital of our station, which must in future help us to self-support. It occurred to me in the latter half of last year that our Christians might be stimulated to take a step in advance, by the twofold motive of maintaining the productiveness of the land, and of increasing their own profit. Before I detail the steps taken with this view, I must first describe to you the mode of land-cultivation prevalent here, and then indicate what has been done by the missionaries in order to a rational and proper cultivation of the land.

"The Gold Coast farmer knows nothing of plough, waggon, scythe, sickle, manure, &c. The season for sowing (January) is drawing near. He goes with his peculiar hedging-bill into the bush, seeks out where the land belongs to him or his family, and heaps up some brushwood on the end of it lying next the road. Thus every passer-by sees that this land is appropriated for the next crop. If a farmer does not himself possess any land, he goes with a bottle of rum to a land-owner (commonly the head of a family) and asks him to assign to him some of his land, which is regularly done. Then he talks with his acquaintances, or, if he is an old man, with his sons and younger brothers; a day is fixed on which all are to muster, in order to cut down the bush from the assigned land for their friend, their father, or their brother. All the small wood not more than an inch thick is cut down quite to the ground, so that there are no stumps left; but the thicker trees are cut over two feet above the ground, so that the barefooted farmer may walk about in his field without hurting his feet with splinters. After some fourteen days of sunshine, the cutting of the bush is followed by the burning of the cut wood. But he burns only the small wood; the thick is allowed to lie, and serves as stakes for the yam-plants, or as firewood. There now remains only the cleaning of the soil, and the land is ready for the seed. There is no necessity for turning it over. Welsh corn (?), or yams, are dibbled in, and the whole is left to itself, until the corn begins to shoot, and the yam-tubers to swell. Then the farmer comes with a small hoe, clears the ground of weeds, and inserts between the corn-stalks short pieces of yam-haulm. Thus he provides his second harvest. If he does not do this, he either plants the same land again with corn in the same year, or he lets it lie till the next year, when he clears it of grass and bush, and again plants corn or yams. But the second crop is considerably less than the first. Thus the land has done its duty for eight or ten years; for when the land has been treated after this fashion, it must remain so long at rest, and must revert into a forest. Formerly this was universal; but through the increase of population, and moreover through the people's unskilful treatment of the land of late years, especially on the mission-lands, but little of the soil has been allowed to rest so long; the consequence of which has been that the grass has too much got the upper hand, and the forest is almost destroyed. The circumstance that every one was allowed to cultivate where he pleased wrought its own punishment, because in every well-situated and fertile spot the forest never attained to any height. As to the profit derived from the ground, it is very little for the negroes when it is not cultivated by the proprietor himself. Besides the above-mentioned bottle of rum, the proprietor only receives some of the produce at harvest time. Only, when he has a plantation in his own hand, he requires his tenant now and then to give him a little assistance in his work. The division of the land is most peculiar. Very frequently the land belongs to a whole village; more rarely to a single family; most rarely to a single person. It is therefore necessary for one to rent land only when he comes as a stranger into a district, or belongs to an impoverished family. But the land is only ceded for one year.

"In the end of August, 1874, I assembled all our elders and land-overseers, pointed out to them the improprieties which have been mentioned, and informed them that they must immediately be remedied. I said that it is heathenish to live from hand to mouth, and leave only a desert for the future; and that they would never be independent unless by aid of the possession of land; that my proposal and that of Mr. Zimmermann was that the whole land should be planted with oil-palms, plantains, and bananas; that this was the right and the only means, not only to increase the revenue and the value of the land threefold in eight or ten years, but also to maintain its former fertility; that this plan must now be carried out. I said that their objection that 'palms bear no bread' was well known to me, but that it was unfounded, for the people of Krobo and Akuapen (two other Basel stations) had not only suffered no privation through palm-planting, but rather were become rich. Next day they brought me a favourable answer; but they said that it was necessary that the land should be divided among them, so that, when one had cultivated the soil, another might not come and enjoy the profits; also that no one would be active in planting palms unless he knew definitely that himself or his children should enjoy the fruits of them.

"Afterwards, on a Tuesday, which is almost always appropriated by the people here to work in common, the boundary of the mission land was marked out, the whole community assembled in the school-house, where I parcelled out the land to them on paper. There had to be forty-four portions assigned. This division was actually carried out in the course of September. But now the people wished that, for security, I should arrange the matter with them by writing. Accordingly, I sketched a form of lease, submitted it to our general treasurer for approval, and secured from him instruction to conclude the bargain with the people on the conditions contained in it. That has now been done. The contract binds the tenant at every harvest to pay a fixed sum to one of the missionaries and some of the elders for the mission-treasury, and also to plant the land with palms, plantains, and bananas. If he do this, then in the event of his death, or of a change of residence with the missionary's knowledge, the land shall pass to his heirs. But if he fail in his obligation, the missionary has the right to deprive him of his portion of land, without his having any claim for compensation for the trees already planted. Further, it is stipulated that when the palms, &c., to be planted begin to bear, their fruit shall be taxed as other products are now. A tenant has no right to fell palm-trees without the permission of the missionary. The duration of the contract is definitely fixed at fifteen years, while it is expected to stand so long as all the palms bear.

"I can now state with joy that already very many tenants have taken the planting in hand. But it is still the beginning. If the land is to be improved and its rent increased in the manner stated, it is obviously necessary that the missionary charged with it shall, at least for four or six years, attend carefully to it, and shall spare no pains to make it succeed. This is the only way to raise our community to independence."

Note II, p. 83.—This was very clearly brought out in the last great famine in China. We take an unexceptionable testimony to this effect from the Chinese (heathen) newspaper *Sin-pao*, which last year contained the following article:—

"To stand by the unfortunate and to help the wretched is a sure evidence of the benevolent heart of a noble man. Still nobler it is to rescue those who are visited with famine, and to have compassion on his neighbours, for that is the philanthropic action of a humane man. In this Middle Kingdom of ours, drought and dearth for several years have converted the provinces of Schantung, Schansi, Honan, Schensi, and Tschili into vast deserts. In Kwantung and Tschili, besides, many dams have been broken by floods, and whole harvests have been destroyed. This year again there has been too much rain

in Kwantung, so that the price of rice has risen, and the poorer people have been obliged to emigrate. The missionaries of the religion of Jesus, who have learned the state of matters by their own observation, and have been moved by noble motives of compassion, have regarded this distress and famine as their own, and have earnestly pleaded with the foreigners to contribute for the alleviation of the famine. Thus beneficent gifts have been received from England, Japan, and Singapore, and from the various foreigners living in China, amounting to 200,000 taels, and these have been dispensed to the last mite for the relief of the suffering. More than this, some missionaries have themselves gone to Schantung, Schansi, and Honan, to help the people. They have neither been afraid of the soaking rains and the cutting winds, nor of toil and sickness. They have saved the lives of great multitudes, and in some cases have subjected themselves to such fatigues that they have died in consequence. But they fear no danger, and do not shrink from death; and others are ready to carry forward their work and to tread in their steps.

“Further, in a conference at Shanghai, they have resolved that, on the 17th of June of the present year, all the missionaries in the several provinces shall gather together the men and women of their faith, and, abstaining from food, shall pray to the most high Lord of the heaven above, and make supplication for the life of the Chinese people. That is good; and we take the liberty to commend the reverence before the heavenly Powers, and the love towards all men, which are so earnestly inculcated by the religion of Jesus. As regards the *Kin-the*, or abstinence from food, it is an attempt to imitate the *Kien-shan* or restriction of meals, which is practised by the Chinese. But *Ki-tao*, that is prayers and entreaties for help, is an attempted imitation of the invocations which, in China, are addressed to the heaven, and signifies the doing of penance, in times of necessity, in order to draw down the compassion of heaven. In China it is well known that the anger of heaven must be reverentially feared; and that good and evil fortune, reward and punishment, are in the hand of the supreme Lord of the heaven above; and this it is also which actuates all the missionaries of the Protestant Faith, through all the distress, as if it were their own, to exert themselves without distinction of nation, to collect contributions and to relieve misery, and so often as it is necessary; because their only thought is, that the fault lies on them, and that for every life which is not saved they are responsible; and this they carry so far that, with contempt of death, they take upon themselves labour and hardships. Assuredly it is difficult for men to carry it so far; and yet the religion of Jesus furnishes numerous examples in proof of the depth and power of the rectitude of sentiment which can be attained by its means. Let us then thankfully admire the love and the large-hearted benevolence of the missionaries, who have been able to present such a sacrifice of self and of love with so great generosity. Let us also acknowledge the mysterious efficacy and power of the doctrine of Jesus, of which we have such proofs. We take public notice of it here, for the instruction of all men of noble thought in China.”

Note 12, p. 86.—Thus even Delff, *op. cit.* p. 138: “However paradoxical it may sound in our century, which swarms with liberal forms of speech, and with romantic tales of even freeborn men in chains, yet it is sure and certain that the best means of civilizing these barbarous creatures is slavery—of course, reasonable and humane.” The credibility of such an assertion cannot be admitted in view of the fact that, in the West Indies and the Southern States of the North American Union, the slavery of a hundred years, which, in part at least, was humane, did nothing for the civilization of the negroes.

Note 13, p. 101.—Buss, a representative of “free” Protestantism, who is

ashamed that hitherto the mission has been left in the hands of "pietism," and who calls upon those who share his sentiments to form a free-thinking missionary society—which has not yet been done—makes this proposal in earnest: to apportion the heathen world between the adherents of the old and those of the new view of the world, so that the less cultivated or cultureless peoples and races be committed to the existing mission, while the culture-peoples and the educated classes shall fall to the lot of the free-thinking mission which he recommends. Apart from the consideration that the poor culture-peoples will probably have a long time to wait, the experiences which have been afforded by the Brahma Somaj in India, and with the enlightened Japanese, should make these gentlemen somewhat more moderate. For the rest, we are very thankful to Mr. Buss for the honest acknowledgment of the cultural success of the actual mission, at least among the barbarous peoples. "Thousands have broken with their polytheistic traditions, call on the one God of almightiness and love, have found enlightenment of conscience and deliverance from the power of sinful passions in faith on the redemptive love-work of Christ, and through the example of the holy life of Jesus, are moved to throw off their heathenish burdens, and are animated to begin a new, worthy, moral life. It has been the part of the mission to rescue innumerable men from the most licentious rudeness, and in many cases from a brutal state of barbarism, and completely to revolutionise the morals of numerous tribes. . . . It has been its part, directly and indirectly, to co-operate for the suppression of cannibalism in the South Sea Islands and elsewhere, of the horrible murders among the West African negro races, the sacrifice of children among the Khonds in India, the widow-burning of the Hindus, and polygamy among various peoples. It has been its part to exert an influence which must not be under-estimated upon the efforts of Christian governments and societies for the abolition of slavery and the suppression of the slave trade, and for improving the condition of the female sex and of children. It has been its part, by the promotion of colonisation, by the refinement and enriching of foreign literatures, by the introduction of printing, by countenancing handiwork and commercial intercourse, but especially by the establishment of schools and hospitals of all sorts, to do a vast deal for the civilization of the inferior races."

Note 14, p. 108.—In opposition to the modern Buddhist-pessimist philosophy, which has, in an incomprehensible way, found so many admirers among us, we call attention to the judgment of the accurate Barthelemy St. Hilaire: "Buddhism is wrecked in India, its birthplace; and in the countries in which it has taken refuge, it has not been influential in improving the morals of the people. Everywhere they have remained under the most degrading despotism. It is to be feared that all our well-meaning and liberal efforts strive in vain in opposition to those lamentable arrangements which have in their favour the usage of centuries, the deep-rooted customs of the people, their indifference, and their incurable superstition."

Note 15, p. 110.—With this judgment of Lawrence, Keshub Chandra Sen, the well-known leader of the Brahma Somaj, entirely agrees. Compare also the following testimony of Lord Napier, Governor of Madras: "The benefits afforded by the mission are threefold—in conversion, in civilization, and in instruction. . . . With respect to civilization, it cannot be sufficiently estimated that in this immensely extensive empire a number of pious and disinterested Englishmen live and travel through the most neglected districts, occupying a middle place between people and government, with equal love to both, friends of the right, enemies of the wrong, impartial observers of good and bad. If we conceive of all these institutions as suddenly removed, what a blank would result! The Government would lose its most

valuable helpers; the poor would see themselves robbed of wise and powerful friends," &c.

Note 16, p. 113.—Cremer: *Biblico-Theological Dictionary of New Testament Greek*, preface: "We can, in fact," says Rothe (*Dogmatics*, p. 238) "speak with good reason of a language of the Holy Ghost. For it lies in the Bible plainly before our eyes, how the Divine Spirit, who is the agent of the revelation, has formed for Himself a quite peculiar religious dialect out of the speech of that people which forms its theatre, since He has formed the elements of speech which He found, as well as the existing concepts, into an aspect specially fitted for it. Most evidently the Greek of the New Testament indicates this origin." Every new Bible translation affords new material in proof of this.

Note 17, p. 135.—Compare the judgment of Sir Bartle Frere on the difference of the education in the Government and the mission schools: "I remember, a short time before I left Calcutta, hearing a distinguished man speak of the advantages of the two educational systems. It was admitted that the scholars of the Government schools had brought their studies, in some scientific branches, to greater perfection than those young men who attend the mission schools. But a gentleman who is at the head of an important Government office stated that whenever he has had a writer or other subordinate who was unusually conscientious in the discharge of his duties, and more than others respectful in his deportment, he always found that he was from Dr. Duff's school."

Note 18, p. 152.—Even Delff (op. cit. p. 186), to our great surprise, takes the same position with respect to this matter with men like Von Hellwald. "In fact, these barbarians have, as in opposition to culture-peoples, no right to exist. It is quite useless to start here with philanthropic ideals. Barbarism must be assimilated, and if it will not consent, must be extirpated, by culture, which has the right in itself, and the task assigned it, to spread itself over the whole earth, in order to give room for pure life." No doubt, he proceeds to assign limitations: "It is inconceivable that these peoples, at all events in their entirety, can be won by friendly conference; the most natural and easiest way would be to take them under strong, fatherly discipline, under a religiously and morally defined patriarchal power, and to accustom them gradually to a better state of things by constraint, until it should more and more become natural to them. Thus in most cases, the second terrible alternative—that of extermination—would be prevented."

Now, experience must here decide. The Romans, 1800 years ago, had similar views regarding the Germans; and Christianity, with its philanthropism, has put them to shame. Now also it shall celebrate the triumph of humanity among the barbarians.

Note 19, p. 185.—Wurm, who by means of his solid *History of the Indian Religion*, is well known as one well acquainted with Indian matters, gives in the *Allg. Miss. Zeitschrift* (1878) the following account of caste, by the communication of which we believe that we shall render a service to the reader.

The word *caste* is derived from the Portuguese *casta*; the corresponding Sanskrit word, *varna*, means colour. After the system was fully developed, the word *jati* (birth) was also used for it. It is questionable whether the Aryans, at their entrance into India, had sharply-defined social distinctions. The word *aryan* means the *nobles*, but it seems to be derived from the root which means to *plough*, so that the cultivator in old times was held in higher honour than he was afterwards.

The caste-system, of course, was not formed in a day. Probably the first traces of it are connected with the division of professions, which civilization

brings with it. Amongst a people so religious as the Hindus are, the sages knew how to win a great influence, and to monopolise it. The religious ceremonies were always so complicated that not fewer than sixteen priests were necessary for the great sacrifice *Agnistoma*, which lasted five days. The word *Brahman* etymologically means prayer or *holy-service*. Those so called formed a first-class, but at the time of the conquest of the country and the subsequent wars they could not subsist without a warrior class, who in the veda-songs are called *Rajaniya*, the kingly class, or otherwise *Kschatrya*, the ruling class. Manu says: "A Kschatrya cannot thrive without a Brahman, nor a Brahman without a Kschatrya. When the Brahman and the Kschatrya co-operate, it goes well with them in this life and the future life." The *Vaisyas*, the depressed, cultivated the land, and procured for themselves a right to the soil which they had brought under tillage. Thus were the three classes related to each other. They called themselves the *twice-born* and wore the sacred thread. But the need of a servile class came to be felt, and thus the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the country, the *Sudras*, were received into the social system of the Hindus. They might not wear any sacred thread on their shoulder, and their happiness consisted only in their subordination to the twice-born; still they had great advantages as compared with the casteless peoples who were not engrafted on the Hindu stock.

If the Indian caste-system consisted only in the distinction of these four classes, there would be nothing in it offensive to other peoples. But in the first place, a religious character has been impressed on it, such as is nowhere else. The man of low caste not only bears the mark of servile indignity, but is a polluted and polluting object for the higher castes, a sort of leper, whose touch, breath, or shadow is defiling. There is no parallel to this among any other people. According to the Indian view the castes are separate from the beginning; the Brahmins have sprung from the mouth of Brahma, the Kschatrya from his arms, the Vaisyas from his thighs, the Sudras from his feet. According to Manu, the Brahmins are gods in human form. "A Brahman, be he learned or unlearned, is a powerful divinity, as fire is a powerful divinity, whether it be consecrated or not." The Brahmins could threaten terrible vengeance upon kings, when they made any attempt to depress them. "Whoever only lays hold of a Brahman with the intention of killing him shall be in hell for 100 years; whoever actually kills him, for 1000 years." The mutual severance of the three lower castes rendered a common rebellion on their part against the Brahmins impossible. The proud Kschatryas repeatedly attempted it in vain. Only by a complete overturn of the caste-system in Buddhism a revolution was effected for a time.

A second point in which the Indian caste-system differs from the distinction of ranks among all other peoples, which is sharply pointed out by Vaughan (*The Trident, the Crescent, and the Cross*), is that not only the four castes existed and operated in old times, but a multitude of sub-divisions, which in the same way are strictly separated from one another, so that at this day no man can tell how many castes actually exist in India. They are all separate from one another,—(1.) With reference to food and its preparation. (2.) With reference to marriage. (3.) With reference to employments. A Brahman must not eat in the presence of a man of lower caste, and if only the shadow of such a man fall on his food while it is being cooked, or if the hem of his garment touches the cooking pot, the food must be thrown away and the pot broken. But the minuter these prescriptions are, the more frequently they must be transgressed. Further, sexual intercourse between people of different castes could not be wholly prevented; and the consequence of this is, that of the two middle castes no direct, unmixed offspring now exist, for even the claims of the Rajputs to descent from the old Kschatryas are contested. Even the Brahman caste is split into sections. But the multiplication of castes has not weakened the whole system, but strengthened it.

"As regards the moral influence of caste upon the Hindu nation," says Vaughan, "it is impossible to denounce the caste system too strongly. Its tendency has been to eradicate human sympathies, to annihilate compassion, to make the heart hard, harsh, and selfish. No one who has not lived in India can understand to what an extent this hardening of the hearts of the Indian people has gone. No people in the world have a stronger sense of family ties than the Hindus. A friendly regard for the wider circle of kinship may be remarked. This goes so far as a respectful acknowledgment of all the members of one's own caste. But anything like an active and general thought of beneficence even towards his caste-brethren is not to be thought of. Certainly, outside the caste, the weal or woe of his fellowmen makes no impression on him. We have repeatedly observed along the great pilgrim-routes illustrations of this sad truth. We have seen poor creatures lying on the road seized with illness. Hundreds of their co-religionists passed and took no more notice of them than they would of a dying dog. We have heard the poor, parched sufferers, with folded hands and earnest voice, pray for a drop of water to moisten their lips; but all in vain. Thus, hundreds die uncared for, without sympathy, without help. Probably, before death has done its work, the vultures and the jackals begin theirs, and so the roads which lead to the holy places are lined with rows of white bones and bleached skulls. Whence this more than brutal hardening? What has dried up all the fountains of human sympathy? It is caste."

Moreover, caste has utterly perverted the moral conceptions. "A Brahman who holds the Veda in his memory," says Manu, "is not culpable though he should destroy the three worlds." So now, a Brahman may be known as a paragon of viciousness, as a thief, liar, adulterer, murderer, but his holiness as a Brahman is not thereby impaired; he is still revered by his disciples, and they drink the water in which his feet have been washed as something holy; but let the Brahman only accidentally eat forbidden food, or touch an unclean object, and the curse of impurity immediately falls upon him. Further, let a Brahman who is branded with the black list of crimes just mentioned, repent of his evil ways and become a meek and holy follower of Christ, from the moment of his baptism till his death he is treated as a fallen and dishonoured wretch; and even the abandoned men who had revered him in his pollution now shrink from his touch."

At the present day tens of thousands of Hindus have lost all faith in their gods; even caste they regard as only a piece of old superstition, which in their hearts they despise. Only, their place in their caste is not thereby prejudiced; every one accords to them the honour which belongs to their caste. Yea, they say, "I am at heart a Christian," and still they stand, in relation to caste, on the same footing with the most pious and most orthodox Hindus. But on his baptism a man is thrust out of caste; the water of baptism is universally regarded, at least in Northern India, as something which destroys caste.

NOTES TO PART III.

Note 1, p. 222.—Plath (*Three New Mission-Questions*; p. 73, ff.; *World-Commerce and the Church*) says: "It is, before all things, a world-school, in which the various nations of the earth are formed and educated to noble aims. But should this 'fertilising commixture of acquired knowledge,' as it flies from land to land, as might almost be said, on the telegraph-wires, remain without effect on the condition of the people? Is it not rather so, when already a particular phase of world intercourse, as *e.g.*, world-trade, is exercising a salutary influence in its own way, that the full amount of all

its forces must be of the most comprehensive importance? For is the world-trade—to keep to the example which we have selected—a mere barter of the goods, products, inventions, manufactures, fabrics, of particular countries and regions? Is there not rather, with the cargoes and commodities, accomplished also an interchange of the highest possessions of remote civilizations? How, when not only cargoes and commodities pass from people to people, but all that one possesses is communicated to the others, the inventions, the literatures, the general civilization; in short, when by the space-controlling powers of the age, almost the whole world is put in common possession and enjoyment of almost all the gifts which are bestowed upon us; can that be of small effect? No, the nearer man is drawn to man, the more closely, the more effectually, does the world embrace him.

“On this ground now grows the genuine healthy cosmopolitanism; and further, it is a natural consequence that among all peoples who have hitherto been brought into contact with the world-commerce there has spread, in ever-widening circles, a certain world-civilization and world-courtesy, a certain world-decency and world-tact, as also a sort of knowledge of that which is of more value than civilization, and courtesy, and decency, and tact—a knowledge of the Christian faith. For not only does the world-intercourse in some sort convince the non-Christian peoples of the insufficiency and nothingness of their religions, and lead individuals either to seek after something higher, or—which is more frequent—straightway into Nihilism; but as among us it is the result of general civilization that we know, though only superficially and in their general features, the differences betwixt Mohammedanism, Buddhism, &c., and our own religion, so the position of an intelligent Mohammedan, Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese necessitates that every one of these has at least a conception of the faith of the Christians with whom commerce brings him into contact. . . In these and similar ways, through the universal world-intercourse, a certain amount of Christian truth, however little, is introduced as a leaven into even the most degenerate religions and world-theories, and the morals of the people concerned lose somewhat of their repulsiveness and inhumanity. It is evident that it must not be overlooked to what a trifling extent such a superficial knowledge of the scantiest Christian elements, and such a feeble amelioration of the forms of life, can ever work; yea how other forces altogether are required in order to bring individuals, and ultimately whole nations, into the Church. Only since the knowledge of the faith must precede its acceptance, and a change of sentiment is necessary in order to conversion, even these smallest traces of beginnings are not to be despised.”

Note 2, p. 244.—The convicts, by their scandalous behaviour, procured for the island the nickname of “Demon’s-land” or “Devil’s-land,” a play on the name “Van Diemen’s Land,” which chiefly induced the colonists to adopt the name “Tasmania.”

Note 3, p. 255.—“With reference to the introduction of labour into the South Seas, much injustice has been done to those who took part in it. It has been compared to the Chinese coolie-trade, or has even been represented as similar to the earlier African slave-trade, or brought into the category of the horrible deeds of violence which were perpetrated in the South Seas by ships under the Peruvian flag. There can be no doubt that at first, when the inhabitants of those islands which supplied the labourers had not a full understanding of the conditions of the service into which they had entered, or were to enter, many mistakes and disappointments respecting their future position occurred, and also small (!) frauds; but there were no such things as deeds of violence and crimes, with the exception of a few individual cases (?), which were well known. And those are to be put to the account of the individuals

employed, and not of the system itself. And it is remarkable that they were perpetrated only (?) by ships which, like the men-hunters before-mentioned, were engaging labourers for Queensland in Australia. The reason is obvious. The employer in such a country, under a strong Government, where the labourers after their arrival were certified to have been voluntarily engaged by a Government inquiry, which was defective through false or defective translation, or, indeed, through other causes, could afford to be indifferent whether the engagement were really voluntary or not, since the Government afforded him the means of holding his people in peace and order. But it is absurd to suppose that comparatively few white men, as in Samoa and formerly in Fiji, who have to defend their rights against the natives of these settlements, should be able to keep in obedience hundreds and thousands of people, violently torn from their homes, and, as is often asserted, badly treated. Even in respect of the treatment of the labourers on the plantations, it is scarcely possible to point to real cruelty, though no doubt there are instances of such. For the most part these cases are referable either to a fatherly discipline of the mildest sort, or to a means of deterring from crimes against the safety of the life of others, to which the absence of competent magistrates compels them to resort."

Consul Weber then examines the accusations that have been brought with respect to the transport and the engagement of these labourers, and gives them a decided denial, at least with reference to the German plantations. According to his statements, the whole system is now fully known and understood by the islanders, so that there is no longer any possibility of deception. "The labourers remain, so to speak, in their own country, and the translation may be most fitly compared to that of a workman in one province of a large European state who hires himself for service in a more or less distant province of the same state." The conditions are explained, and the contract is signed in the presence of witnesses, generally a native mission teacher, when one is available. Families generally go all together, &c. The islanders often seek engagement from a love of travel, often in consequence of dearth prevailing in the island, or because they are induced by quarrels, oppressions, wars. "A change of home, with a dwelling as a labourer on a plantation, is not, and cannot be, generally regarded as a misfortune, but in very many cases as the opposite. With their wretched existence, often subject to despotism and oppression, without hope of improvement, the paradise of the inhabitants of most of these islands is a chimera." "Although it cannot be argued that the planters introduce the labourers from purely humane and philanthropic motives—while indeed many of them take all relative considerations into full account—yet, on an impartial judgment, the fact cannot be denied that in every case, even though unintentionally, they accomplish a mission of civilization."

The *Papers relating to the South Sea Islands* bear the following testimony to the Hamburg House of Godefroy and Son:—"These gentlemen are deservedly regarded as among the most intelligent merchants in Europe; and in no respect is this more conspicuous than in the wise regulations which they have laid down for the management of their plantations in Samoa. The Kingswell Islanders, on their arrival on the lands of the Messrs. G., present a picture of the lowest stage of South Sea barbarism. After their arrival, they are comfortably lodged, decently clothed, well fed, and trained to regular and peaceful work. They come filthy, foul, and barbarous; after six months of plantation work, they are not like the same creatures; and during the currency of their contracts they make such progress that they are as unfit for associating with their brutal brethren in their home, as they formerly were for contact with the civilized world. The instructions of the Messrs. G. provide that these people shall in no case be engaged by their agents without their own consent, and that of their chiefs and their relatives. The overseers are their countrymen, or foreigners who have lived long among them. They

work nine hours a day. The overseers are not allowed, under any circumstances, to beat them. They are under the care of a regularly-trained European doctor. Missionaries of the Protestant and Catholic confessions have every facility to visit and instruct them. On Sundays they are not required to do any work. They are not restricted in their marriage relations. It would be well for planters in all respects if the system pursued by the Messrs. G. were universally known and adopted."

Note 4, p. 268.—*Church Missionary Intelligencer*, 1879, p. 67. Note on the article on "Government Colleges in India." However much we agree with the contents of this article, we cannot but enter a most energetic protest against the remark which is made near the beginning of it: "A people which knows so many things, when it is left in ignorance of the Bible, *as is the case now in Germany*, forms a terrible problem for statesmen and rulers." To meet with such an exaggeration in so solid a publication as the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* is so much the more painful to us, because it shows that even ecclesiastically-sound circles in England are incapable of forming a fair and right judgment on German matters. Despite the Cæsar-murderers and the social-democrats, the German people are not altogether left, till this day, without knowledge of the Bible. We are just towards England; *noblesse oblige*; let England learn at least to be just towards us.

Note 5, p. 282.—Subsequently the Government made a still more brilliant stroke of business. "Even if it should happen that the Government Commissioners have given 5000 five-franc pieces, instead of 5000 dollars, that they have paid in deteriorated bank-notes of foreign states, instead of metallic coins and Exchequer bills, and the Indians have refused to accept such payment: they intimated that the Government does not pay in any other way; but if they would consent to a discount of 15 per cent., they should have hard cash."

Note 6, p. 282.—Report of the Commissioners on Indian Affairs for 1869, p. 179. The Californian Indians were long ill-used, robbed of their natural rights, and often cheated even out of their privileges conferred by the Government. Their domestic happiness was destroyed, they were driven from their hunting and fishing grounds, &c. This excited the passions of the Indians, and they became dangerous enemies of the white race.

Note 7, p. 288.—The strongest, it may be said the most cynical, representative of this view is Herr v. Hellwald in his *Culture-History*. There, for example, he points to the dying-out of the emancipated negroes—which he asserts—as "the most thorough and the most favourable of all solutions of this question;" and adds, "Even in this way the Union is once for all set free of care for its 'black brethren,' culture thereby enjoys a triumph, which is constantly bound up with the disappearance of a heterogeneous people-element."

Note 8, p. 293.—Individual exceptional cases have indeed occurred. There have been pious slave-holders, who have been anxious for the religious instruction of their slaves: people who either deceived themselves as to the righteousness of slavery, in consequence of religious prejudices based upon the Old Testament, or who accepted the actually existing institution, justified as it was by public opinion, as an evil which it was not in their power to remedy. So far as we know, there was never but one proper missionary union of slave-holders. It consisted of a number of slave-holding Boers in the Cape Colony. The first agents of the Rhenish Missionary Society entered into the

service of this union. But the friendship was not of long continuance. When the missionaries set themselves earnestly to elevate the slaves materially, intellectually, and morally, and their labours produced fruit, and when emancipation was proclaimed by the British Government, then the friendship was changed into hostility.

Note 9, p. 299.—The same author states in the Berlin Mission-Report, 1873, p. 80: "The two chief counsellors of the well-known Ghaika Chief Sandile, Tyala and Soga by name, both heathens, waited on Mr. Brownlee, who was then magistrate of King William's Town, to present a petition to the governor, that he would prohibit or restrict the drinking-houses; because the Kaffirs, after they had lost their property by drinking, would seize on that of the whites. They wished to make him aware of the danger now, that he might not afterwards hold them responsible for the consequences.

Note 10, p. 301.—The Report referred to became accessible to us only when our work was in the press, so that we were able to make use of it only occasionally, while correcting the proofs. We knew it before only from the *New Prussian Zeitung*, of 15th June 1879, supplement. The passage quoted there from the Bamberg Deputy, stands, we are sorry to say, word for word in the Report. But we are happy to be able to affirm that the Deputy is not justified in his assertion that the German Government treats the mission only with humour. Happily, the passage complained of is the only one to which this remark could justly be applied. In other respects—with the exception of the tone of the materially just denunciation of the King of Apamama—the Report speaks of the mission with all the earnestness which is as much appropriate to such a document, as it is suited to the importance of the work, of which its statements contain an essential acknowledgment. For the rest, we intend to publish a special article on the Report in the *Allg. Miss. Zeitschrift*. It will appear in the September number, and to it we refer the reader.

Note 11, p. 308.—On the mention of the magic-lantern we cannot but refer to the reprehensible foolery which the English missionaries among the nature-peoples often practise with this instrument, which seems to form an essential part of their equipment. On account of the misuse of it, we wish they would leave the magic-lantern at home. The instruction afforded by views, which they sometimes impart by means of it, could be very well given by ordinary pictures. The advantage is only an imaginary one. In the best cases the magic-lantern only affords amusement, or gives occasion to pleasant scenes by misunderstanding—in worse cases it brings the missionary into the suspicion of being a conjuror. Examples are not far to seek.

Note 12, p. 309.—It is a fashion in certain circles bristling with "science," to look down contemptuously on the average missionary because he has not a university education. As if at home all men were looked down upon who had not gone through a university course! While, without any doubt the university course—which we hold in all honour—has neither the privilege infallibly nor exclusively to produce practically qualified men, we cannot see why the want of it should be discreditable to the missionary. In the mission-service we do not require only men who have the qualifications of university professors, while we rejoice that we have a considerable number of such, who by their scientifically important doings enjoy a well-merited reputation even among the scientific circles of Europe, India and China. Though a large proportion of our missionaries have no university training—in America and most of the English Free Churches they go from the same institutions in

which the home clergy are trained—their study of foreign languages and peoples, their contact with the world-commerce, even their calling, in many cases make up for the deficiency. The writer of this has become acquainted with a whole host of missionaries of the hand-working classes, who had no education but that of the ordinary seminary when they left their native country, and he has been astonished at their intelligence when they have returned home after some ten years' absence. We need many kinds of gifts in the mission-service, because we have many tasks to perform, and we by no means regard it as axiomatic that the scientifically trained missionaries have always and everywhere filled in the most creditable way the places assigned them, and have enjoyed the greatest respect and exercised the deepest-reaching influence among the heathen.

Note, 13, p. 314.—The fact referred to probably rests also on other grounds. To state, for example, a few: the merely outward form of conversion with which Mohammedanism is satisfied; the polygamy and the slave-trade which it permits; the indulgence which it exercises towards the continuance of heathenish immoralities, and towards the gratification of all sinful inclinations of the natural man, &c. Or, as Rohlf's expresses it: "The doctrine of the prophet imposes on the Africans no change in the manner of living;" and he adds, "The preachers of the prophet's doctrine in Africa are unpaid and poor, while the Christian missionaries are surrounded with affluence!"

Note 14, p. 317.—Hubbe-Schleiden, *op. cit.*, p. 63, says, in vindication of the missions, when their opponents would hold them responsible for the misuse which their former pupils sometimes make of the education given them in the mission institutions: "Besides, the influence of commerce, with the far greater practical means which it has at its disposal, must fairly be held to so far exceed the influence of the mission, that when improprieties occur in any place along with our civilization, on this principle commerce ought rather to be held responsible for them."

Note 15, p. 318.—Warneck, *Night and Morning in Sumatra*, 2nd Edit: (Barmen, 1872) p. 100. Certainly experiences of exactly the opposite character have occurred. So Behrens the Hermannsburg missionary writes from South Africa! "The people in a less degree take example by the teacher, because he is a white man; he is, so to speak, born with so many wants, they cannot compare themselves with him; he stands too high above them for them even to try to imitate him in the outer life. But they soon take example by one another. What the one has the other must have; what the one does the other also must soon do."

Note 16, p. 321.—I am reminded of a story which forms a fitting pendent to this narrative, only that it makes still more demand on the risible muscles. A Rhenish missionary, stationed in Borneo, told it of a Dayak; but unfortunately I forget where it is recorded, so that I can only tell it imperfectly—A heathen Dayak, filled with envy of the beautiful European clothes which, at least in part, his Christian countrymen wore, came to the missionary begging for a suit of clothes. The poor man himself possessed little more than what was on his back; but he remembered that he had a dressing-gown, which he did not require. In his good nature he presented this *robe de chambre* to the beggar, who received it with the promise that he would come to the preaching. Punctually next Sunday comes my Dayak. The missionary has just read his text and is going to begin the sermon. But what he sees puts him so out of countenance that it is only with an extreme effort

that he can keep from laughing aloud. The Dayak had put on the dressing-gown with his legs thrust into the sleeves, and the skirts thrown over his shoulders, while for the rest, he wore his Adamic costume!

Such caricatures are found everywhere; kings dress themselves in cast-off military uniforms; others use jackets for breeches, or strut with a waistcoat turned upside down as their only garment.

Note 17, p. 343.—On the Gaboon it is called *pidgeon English* (*pidgeon* being a corruption of *business*). Hubbe-Schleiden, op. cit., p. 171 f., says: "The author was acquainted with a negro who spoke and wrote English fluently, spoke French, could make himself understood in Spanish and Portuguese, and was master of several dialects of the neighbouring negro tribes." He was brought up as a Protestant or Presbyterian, but had, by his association with infidel Europeans, emancipated himself from this influence, and was as much a free-thinker as great numbers are in Europe. But in the bottom of his heart there lurked the most grievous superstition."

Note 18, p. 343.—The Wesleyan visitor of the West Indies, Rev. Dr. Osborne, at this year's celebration, told the following suggestive anecdote of negro vanity. "A letter was delivered at a farm-house with the address '*John Mathews, Esquire.*' The lady of the house declared that there was no such person as *John Mathews, Esq.*, there. Just then the black stable-boy happened to pass, and said, 'Pardon, madam, the letter for me.' 'Forgive me! I did not know that you were an esquire.' 'Oh all gentlemen what wears shoes and stockings are esquire here.'" Unfortunately some of the Wesleyan collectors speculate upon this vanity, instead of resisting it. "A short time ago a meeting was held in Jamaica, at which the minister read the list of subscribers, and called out, 'Nelson Coffie, one dollar.' 'You say Mister Nelson Coffie,' answered the person addressed, 'and me pay two dollars.' 'Good! give five dollars and I will style you Nelson Coffie, Esq.' 'Massa, me give dat money.'"

Note 19, p. 352.—For this alliance so competent a witness as Stanley pleads. On the Congo the missionary must follow the merchant; in the larger African kingdoms which are already under a fixed rule, such as Uganda, the merchant must follow the missionary—so wrote the celebrated discoverer before the publication of his two-volume book, *Through the Dark Continent*. It is well known that it was at Stanley's direct instigation that the Church Missionary Society undertook their work on the Victoria Nyanza, after the traveller himself had made the first attempt to convert Mtesa. "Oh, that the hour were come when a company of philanthropic capitalists were formed to set free these fair lands, and that funds were provided that the messengers of the Gospel might come and put an end to that murderous hate with which man regards man in the wondrously beauteous lands by the Victoria Lake."

Oberlander, who is but a very cold and reserved, and, through defective knowledge, a prejudiced advocate of missions, writes in his book, *Livingstone's followers; Africa travelled over from East to West by Stanley and Cameron*: 'Stanley demands for the newly-won territory the activity of the merchant and that of the missionary. Many readers will be surprised at this; but the English and the Americans think otherwise, and laugh at us German Liberals, because we do not recognise the importance of the mission. In the war with the Ashantis, at the Cape, in the formation of the Transvaal Republic, and elsewhere, England has perceived that the success of her work among the heathen becomes possible only by its being preceded by the quiet efforts of the missionaries; and the Americans, with their world-glance, know still

better than the English, that the heathen mission is a great international power among the natives. Even in Germany there is a constantly increasing understanding of the culture-historical importance of the mission. There is scarcely any other department of work respecting which so indistinct and erroneous suppositions prevail among a great portion of the German people, as respecting the constantly extending action of Protestant missions. A couple of hundred men in all lands of the earth are labouring in connection with the German societies as pioneers of culture. How much ethnography, geography, and philology are advanced by the labours of the missionaries is gradually being acknowledged by specialists even in Germany. And this assertion is in no way inconsistent with the circumstance that we cannot altogether sympathise with the efforts of such missionaries, who encounter the children of nature with subtle dogmas of faith (!) We by no means extend our good wishes to the fanatical propagators of a special form of confession (!), who generally regard it as their highest task to anticipate their confessional opponents, in order to draw over to their special form of faith the largest possible number of apparently converted souls."

THE END.

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5. Success of work there claims attention & should encourage larger enterprise. Simon Henry, Wm. Effort in including suit and a proof of success.

6. If we can't go. Henry's claim is apparently, perhaps our earnest efforts to entreat and get of Henry.

Henry like the man - Wm who was not willing to give a way from home, not even to help with grace, good.

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2. nd China's claims upon the Christian Ministry of the U.S.

1. China claims recognition at the hands of the ministers;
 - a) That her existence shall be recognized as a part of the world to which X commanded the gospel to be preached. (Men in Indiana can commission not of force since Apol died + that the U.S. sends ministers therefore church need not)
 - b) That the influence of China in east world shall be recognized and the importance of giving her the gospel.
2. China claims justice - that the ministers shall denounce iniquitous legislation.
3. That her spiritual need shall be recognized & satisfied.
4. That many shall go to her relief in obedience to command of X + example of Paul, per

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